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CANADA'S MAGAZINE OF THE YEAR

AUG. 28th 2006

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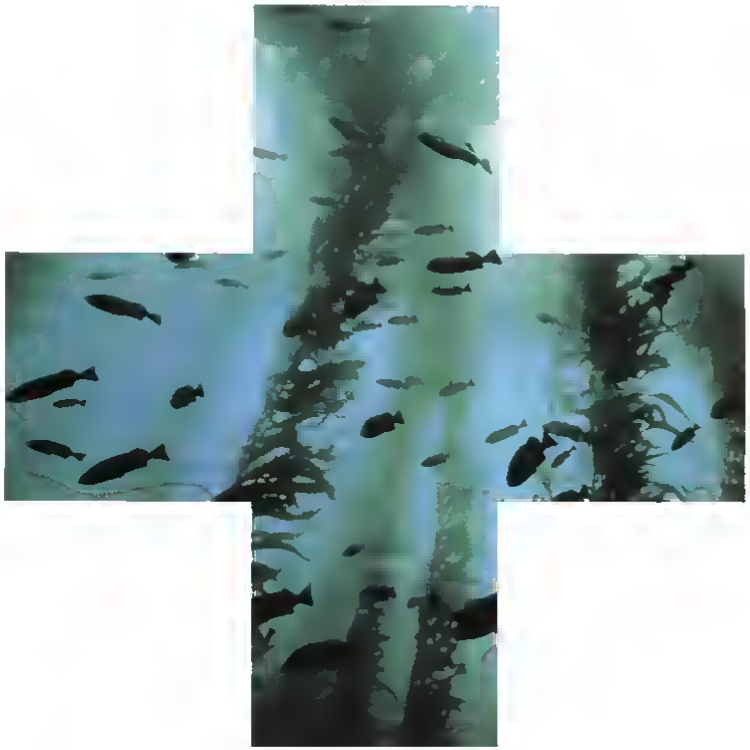
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PRIME MINISTER HARPER with the president of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai, in Kabul

Canadians need to be told why we're at war

The death toll from our military commitment in Afghanistan has now climbed to 27, and Canadians are rightfully starting to worry. This week, a Strategic Counsel poll found that the percentage of respondents who support the mission had slipped from 55 per cent to 37 per cent since March, after Canadian troops took on a more prominent role in the Afghanistan campaign and thus began sustaining heavier losses. The rising anxiety was succinctly articulated two weeks ago by David Steeves of Charlottetown, who wrote in a letter to the *Globe and Mail*, "more and more young Canadians will be killed in Afghanistan for no sensible objective other than to please the Americans. What is there in Afghanistan worth fighting for?"

It's a legitimate question deserving a thoughtful answer. The sight of flag-draped coffins rolling, one after another, off transport aircraft is enough to shake anyone's resolve. Matters aren't helped by the fact that the Canadian government, under both the Liberals and Conservatives, has consistently failed to provide Canadians with a clear explanation of our presence in Afghanistan. Why is it our problem? Who are we fighting for and who against? What national interest is being served by our presence there?

Under the Liberals, Canada's deployment was always downplayed as just another chapter in our long history of multilateral peacekeeping. In a 2004 address to the International Conference on Afghanistan, then-foreign affairs minister Bill Graham said the military deployment "has deep political support in Canada because of the importance that Canadians attach to seeing Afghanistan established as a free, open and democratic society." He painted a picture of a community police action aimed at promoting human rights and discouraging drug traffic. Not once did he utter the word "Taliban" or hint at exchanges of live ammunition.

The Conservatives under Stephen Harper have consistently minimized the possibility of combat and refused to acknowledge that Canada is at war. The Prime Minister at first tried to keep the House from debating the Afghan mission at all. On extending our deployment by two years in May, he finally allowed Parliament a brief run at the issue. He himself connected the dots between global terror networks and the Taliban and our own national security. He even made reference to the Taliban's ruthless oppression of the Afghan people. But much of his time on the floor was dedicated to embarrassing the opposition by reading earlier statements from Liberal, NDP and Bloc Québécois members in support of the Afghan mission. He didn't build a case for our involvement so much as argue that it was all the Liberals' idea to go there in the first place, wasting an opportunity to bolster the nation's confidence and resolve.

Canadians are perfectly right to doubt the wisdom of sending brave young soldiers to die for a cause their leaders won't rationally, vigorously and sincerely defend. But the case for Canada's commitment to Afghanistan is not difficult to make. We are not there as a pawn in George W. Bush's war on terror. We are not fighting the Taliban to placate Washington for our refusal to commit to Iraq. Canada is one of 37 NATO and partner nations—Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and Turkey, to name just a few—risking lives in Afghanistan in the hopes that one of the world's most dangerous breeding grounds of desperation and extremism might be lifted onto its feet and made a full contributing member of the world community. The effort has been endorsed by the UN and practically the entire world community.

Should our Prime Minister decide to take pride in our contributions, he could do worse than to crib from recent comments made by his Australian counterpart John Howard on the announcement of his decision to lend another 150 troops to the NATO effort.

"The Afghan people are working to achieve stability, peace and democracy, after many years of violence and extremism. For Afghanistan, the path to security will be long and hard, with many challenges lying ahead. But Afghanistan will not have to face these challenges alone. Australia, along with many others in the international community, is there to assist the Afghan people.

"We have already witnessed what happens when the global community turns its back on extremism. Afghanistan was neglected for too long, condemning the Afghan people to decades of war and poverty. But the world is now much more aware of the dangers of ignoring extremism and fundamentalism. The stability of Afghanistan has wider implications for global security and it is for this reason that the Australian government is committed to ensuring that Afghanistan achieves long-term peace.

"Afghanistan's social indicators remain sobering. At 46 years, Afghan life expectancy is one of the world's lowest, and at least 20 years lower than that of all Afghanistan's neighbours. One in five children still die before the age of five, and the country has some of the world's lowest literacy rates. In addition, 3.4 million Afghans remain outside their country and there is much room for improvement in the country's human rights situation.

"Afghanistan is still one of the world's poorest countries. Decades of war destroyed much of the country's infrastructure and severely disrupted economic activity, including in agriculture. Criminal and terrorist activity continues to hamper economic growth, and the expansion of the drug trade remains of very deep concern. Sustained economic growth will be required to make a significant dent in the country's chronic poverty.

"These problems are complex and will

TOM HANSON/CP



not be solved quickly. But Australia cannot and will not abandon Afghanistan. We need to remain committed to supporting this fledgling democracy."

Should our Prime Minister want to offer Canadians more vivid examples of what we're fighting in Afghanistan, he could relate how, last January, Taliban thugs broke into the home of Malim Abdul Habib, a high school headmaster in the central Afghanistan town of Qalat. His assailants stabbed Habib eight times before cutting off his head, while his wife and eight children, aged two to 22, watched. According to Human Rights Watch, Habib's crime was that his school had the audacity to



The PM should highlight the enormous good our presence has already accomplished

educate girls, and the attack was part of a much broader assault against education in general throughout the country. In the past 12 months, 208 schools have been closed and Taliban insurgents have burned 144 more and killed 41 teachers and students. Investigators believe that Canadian carpenter Mike Frastacky, 56, was another victim of the same reign of terror last month. Frastacky had been building a school in the town of Nahrin, in northern Afghanistan, when he was shot to death in the home where he was staying.

The Prime Minister must know that the Taliban's ruthless and bloody campaign is by no means limited to the country's fledgling school system. Last month, attackers lobbed grenades into the home of a postman who worked in the eastern province of Khost, simply because he dared take a job with the national government. The attack severely wounded the postman, and killed his three young daughters. And just last week, in the village of Daigh, in the southern province of Helmand, a 70-year-old woman and her 30-year-old son were hanged from a tree because her son-in-law had worked for the Afghan police.

That is the face of our enemy: an ideology that not only advocates the utter subjugation of women and the violent opposition to Western culture, but the decapitation of a teacher, the blowing up of a postman and hanging of an old woman, for no reason other than that they sought a better life for their families and their country.

It would also be advisable for the Prime Minister to highlight for Canadians the enormous good that our presence in Afghanistan has already accomplished. He might note that since the fall of the Taliban in 2001, an immunization program has vaccinated over five million children under the age of five against polio, almost eradicating that disease. And despite the Islamist extremists' determination to terrify teachers and burn schools at every opportunity, Human Rights Watch estimates 5.2 million children are now enrolled in school in Afghanistan, compared to about 775,000, all of them boys, under the Taliban. There are also the makings of an economic recovery in Afghanistan. Real GDP is expected to grow by almost 12 per cent in 2006. This builds on strong growth rates over the past few years, even if from a low base.

Even more crucial for the long-term health, welfare and security of the Afghan people, our commitment to their country last year helped them launch their first parliamentary elections in 30 years. Afghanistan now has a democratic constitution and a democratically elected president and parliament. In an encouraging sign for the inclusiveness of Afghanistan's burgeoning civil society, women featured prominently in these elections. 68 women were elected to the lower house, taking 27 per cent of available seats.

The Prime Minister might further mention that the Afghan people desperately want us to remain in their country. In December, ABC News commissioned the first national opinion poll of Afghans. Asked if they prefer the current government under Hamid Karzai to the Taliban regime, 91 per cent said they did. Fully 85 per cent said living conditions had improved since the change in government, and 77 per cent said they believed the country was headed in the right direction—and despite popular perceptions in the West, there is a great deal to justify that faith and optimism.

Finally, it is imperative that Canadians hear a frank statement from the Prime Minister on the extent and duration of our commitment to Afghanistan. This is not going to be a cakewalk. We face enormous challenges in Afghanistan. As Ottawa Bureau Chief John Geddes explains in this week's cover story (page 22), the level of violence has increased in recent months as the Taliban and other terrorist groups, including al Qaeda, seek to chip away at the credibility of the Afghan government and reverse the reconstruction effort. Security beyond the capital of Kabul, particularly in the east and south, is the worst it has been since the Taliban fell. This month, Lt.-Gen. David Richards, head of the NATO forces in Afghanistan, said NATO troops are encountering "persistent low-level dirty fighting," the most dangerous sustained combat they have seen since the Korean War. He warned that the country is teetering perilously "close to anarchy." But the seriousness of the situation is reason for us to dig in our heels, not throw up our hands. There are some who've complained that Canada's presence in Afghanistan is doing damage to our international reputation as a peace-loving, progressive nation. The reality is just the opposite: if we were to heed the naysayers, give up now, and turn our backs on our duty and the Afghan people—that would be a national shame.

Last week, Lt.-Gen. Richards was in Kandahar to express his gratitude to the Canadians who gave their lives in recent clashes with militants, and to implore this country to stay the course. If ever there was a just war, he said, it's the one we're fighting now.

It is an awesome responsibility to assign young men and women to risk their lives in service to their country. It should only be undertaken for clear and important causes, and with forthright explanation. Thus far, our government has failed our soldiers, their families and our citizens by backing into commitments, by avoiding debate, by misleading the public, and by refusing to lead. It's time all that changed. M

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'We feed them, house them, nurse and protect them—and they hate us?'

NOT THE BRADY BUNCH

THE KHADR FAMILY ("The house of Khadr," Cover, Aug. 7) left me with a mix of emotions, given the family has broken apart. But what hit me was Zaynab warning Canada, saying violence was not justified but it should be expected. Who is she kidding? Does she think she is speaking for all Muslims? I am a Muslim and I'm not saying she doesn't have the right to be mad about the Canadian military being in Afghanistan, but she should watch what she says. Why don't they forget about the past and get on with their new life? Come on, it's Toronto, they're bound to fit in somewhere.
Hawa Sabriye, Toronto

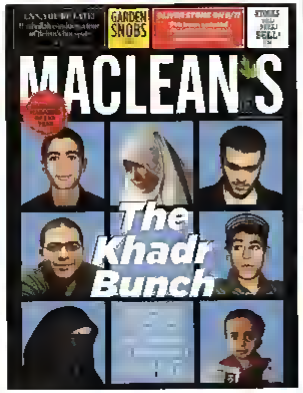
LET ME SEE if I have this right: we feed them, house them, nurse them, educate them and protect them—and they hate us and support those who want to hurt us? What is wrong with this picture? Perhaps if Mr. Harper and Mr. MacKay could solve this riddle at home, their efforts on the world stage would become more meaningful.
Jim Rutter, Fonthill, Ont.

BEFORE *MACLEAN'S* CHOOSES to embarrass and defame a family again by posting them on the front page and calling them a "family of terror," the magazine should wait until more than one family member is actually found to be a proven terrorist. Sorry, but a son selling his life story for $500,000, a sister "under suspicion," and a few other members "alleged" to have done this or that doesn't cut it. Innocent until proven guilty.
Michael Drouillard, Surrey, B.C.

HOW LONG CAN the Khadrs remain on welfare? Do any of them even try to gain meaningful employment? And *why* exactly are taxpayers continuing to foot the bill for these people who are more than happy to hate Canadians? Is it because the women refuse to work? Or are they merely incompetent? Do any of them report the money donated to them? Does the taxman take a look at their real incomes? Does the "black sheep" contribute money from his Hollywood earnings to the upkeep of this family? If so, is any of this reported to those stupid people who continue to dole out the dole? Time for the Khadr bunch to get jobs.
Brenda Montgomery, New Westminster, B.C.

RESCUE ME

I AM CONFUSED as to how Mark Steyn's ethnic cleansing program ("50,000 problematic Canadians," Books, Aug. 7) would work. Evidently throwing Lebanese Canadians to the wolves is a first step. But what about the many American Canadians? Will wintering in Miami or Phoenix be suspect? And what of dyspeptic Canadians like Steyn for whom Canada in its present form is an abomination? Shall we invite them to seek a homeland more suited to their world view? Oh, Mr. Steyn, I don't think we want to go down that road.
Alan Taylor, Ottawa



NOT THAT LONG AGO I would have equated taking out a subscription to *Maclean's* with voting NDP or reading the *Toronto Star*. With Mark Steyn in your lineup of columnists, the prospect is no longer quite so appalling.
Frank Casey, Calgary

CITIZENSHIP SHOULD BE a matter of loyalty, not of convenience. How many dual citizens are there among our troops in Afghanistan?
Patrick MacKinnon, Halifax

SCHOOL LESSONS

THE AL-HUDA school was dismayed to see the article "Good morning Mrs. Hashmi" (National, July 24). This story is misleading and ambiguous. It is a deliberate attempt to mischaracterize a respected religious scholar as an extremist. Mrs. Hashmi's lectures are widely available on DVD and the Internet,

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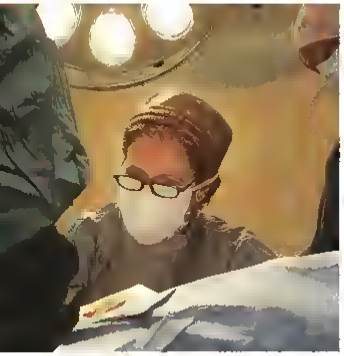


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'He has survived one American-backed coup and calls for his assassination by the American pastor, Pat Robertson'

and, if they contained anything as controversial as what the article is suggesting, that information would have been discovered long ago. Furthermore, the article alleges that Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy infiltrated the al-Huda school. Nothing could be further from the truth. Not only did she clearly introduce herself, but the interviews she had with Mrs.



WAIT TIMES: The system needs surgery

Hashmi and several students were arranged for her in good faith by the al-Huda team. With this non-story, *Maclean's* has demonstrated its pathological need to perpetuate the stereotype of devout Muslims as extremists.
Mubeen Qureshi, Principal, al-Huda Islamic Centre of Canada, Mississauga, Ont.

I AM A STUDENT of Farhat Hashmi and I really want to share what she teaches us based on the Koran. She has inculcated a true love of Allah and all his creation in our hearts. She is not a conspiracy theorist nor a so-called hardline Islamist. In fact, she teaches us to look into our own hearts and souls, cleanse them and then help others to do that too.
Samia Faysal, Laurence Harbor, N.J.

GRINGO POINT OF VIEW

SO "VENEZUELAN STRONGMAN" Hugo Chávez ("This can't be good," World, Aug. 7) took his "angry anti-American paranoia on the road" and noted truth-teller and supporter of "freedom and democracy" George W. Bush is "concerned with the erosion of democracy" in Venezuela and Bolivia. The "strongman," code for dictator, is the elected president of Venezuela. He has survived one American-backed coup, an American-backed recall attempt, and, so far, calls for his assassination by the American right's favourite pastor, Pat Robertson. And we're surprised that he's not supportive of the Bush administration? No wonder Chavez is travelling the world looking for friends—it's his only chance of staying alive.
Rob Morrison, Bowmanville, Ont.

WAITING AROUND

WE CONGRATULATE Quebec ("We'll have what *they're* having," National, Aug. 7) on their success, but your "unlike the rest of the country" is flatly incorrect. Ontario's wait time strategy has been very successful and is publicly reported (*www.ontariowaittimes.com*). Ontario cardiac and cancer wait times are already within the federal/provincial/territorial targets, while cataract and hip replacement times will be there by next spring. Wait times for knee replacement as well as CT and MRI scans are steadily coming down.
Dr. Alan Hudson, Lead, Access to Services and Wait Time Strategy, Ontario Ministry of Health, Toronto

WHERE THE HECK did these people get their numbers? If I want a checkup with my regular doctor, I have to call two months in advance. And if it weren't for a referral from another doctor, I wouldn't have a physician to go to at all because you can't just open the phone book and get one. I called at least 15, only to be told, "No, I'm sorry. We're not taking any more patients." Makes you wonder why they bother listing themselves.
Kim Smart, Montreal

NOT IN CANADA

MATTHEW FRASER ("No HBO? Blame our politicians and regulators," Business, Aug. 7) says that HBO is arguably the best TV channel in the history of the medium—and he has a list of loser shows to prove it. Mr. Fraser seriously needs to get a life.
Mary Lawrence, Moose Jaw, Sask.

MIDEAST MUDDLE

Barbara Amiel ("Take a number. It's open season on Israel," Opinion, Aug. 7) lecturing us on our attitudes toward Israel's retaliatory response to Hezbollah? Puleeze. Next issue, could we have an article on parenting by Britney Spears?
Dolores Ibrahim, St. Catharines, Ont.

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You can't fix an old dog with a new dictionary


ANDREW POTTER

If a couple of California linguists have it right, the Democrats will be out of power in the United States for the foreseeable future.

In the middle of the 2004 presidential election, George Lakoff, a cognitive scientist and linguist at Berkeley, published a book called *Don't Think of an Elephant!* He argued that the success of the Republican party is due to its ability to dictate the meanings of the words used in political debate. In Republican hands, social conservatism becomes "family values," anti-abortionists are "pro-life," and the estate tax becomes a "death tax." Lakoff advised liberals to "reframe" these concepts to reflect their own agenda, by (for example) recasting big government as "effective government," and higher taxes as "investments."

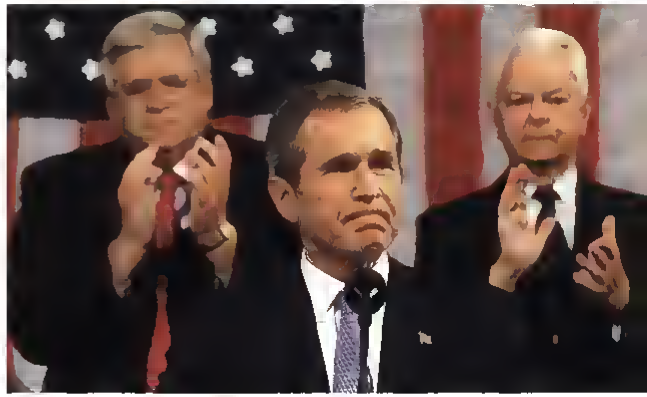
The book was a massive success. Democrats bought up bushels of copies to pass around Washington, and Lakoff became a bit of a guru, offering hope of brighter things to come for a party devastated by a second consecutive loss to the so-called monkey from Texas.

Indeed, it did so well its central arguments have been restated by Stanford linguistics professor Geoffrey Nunberg in his new book *Talking Right*. Nunberg says the Republicans owe their success to their control of the public meanings of words like "liberal" and "elite." Following Lakoff, he claims the presidential campaign of 2008 will be a fight over the commanding heights of rhetoric, and he suggests Democrats adopt this two-step strategy:

1) Take back the dictionary.
2) Take back the White House.

Outside of a Paul Martin election campaign, it is hard to imagine worse political advice being seriously offered. The idea that elections are won and lost at the level of symbols only reinforces the worst tendencies of American liberal thinking, and will ultimately work in favour of the Republicans.

Blame it all on George Orwell—specifically on *1984*, a book that has alerted generations of students to the manipulation of language for political ends. Today, the political left tends to spend as much energy objecting to the terms conservatives use to describe their policies as it does objecting to the policies themselves. In what is now a well established ritual, conservatives introduce neologisms that portray their activities in a positive light—use of cliché numbs the brain. In his essay "Politics and the English Language," he wrote that political speech and writing are largely offered in the defence of the indefensible—policies such as the Russian purges, or the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan. This is why political language ends up being couched in euphemism. It is "designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind."


WIN MCNAMEE/AP

The Party doesn't get to rule because it invented Newspeak; it's the other way round

"downsizing," "Operation Enduring Freedom," "compassionate conservatism"—liberals get outraged, conservatives ignore them, and the cycle eventually repeats itself. It doesn't seem to matter how often their opponents complain about these "Orwellian" abuses, conservatives keep doing it, either not knowing or not caring about the violence they are inflicting upon the English language. No more, say the California linguists. It's time to take the rhetorical fight to the Republicans.

Orwell would not approve. He knew that when it came to the abuse of language for political ends, the left was as guilty as the right. Implacably opposed to fascism, he was still irritated by the way the term had been rendered utterly meaningless by being used to describe, by the by, shopkeepers, fox-hunting, Kipling, Gandhi, homosexuality, women, dogs. A similar fate has befallen the formerly useful (and precise) term "war criminal," as well as the word "Orwellian" itself. The latter gets tossed around with careless regularity, to the point where it now means little more than "a use of language I don't like."

What Orwell was most concerned with was clarity: precise use of words, freshness of imagery, simplicity of expression. Imprecise language leads to vagueness, while unthinking

The Lakoff/Nunberg project for a revitalized Democratic party gets the causal chain of American politics exactly backwards. The Republicans didn't get to control the levers of power because they came up with a favourable way of framing the debate. Rather, they are allowed to frame the debate because they control the levers of power. Or to put it in the terms of *1984*: the Party does not get to rule because it invented Newspeak, it gets to impose Newspeak because it rules.

The GOP's current domination of American politics is the result of a 40-year effort that involved a tremendous amount of grassroots politicking. Dedicated activists knocked on doors, licked envelopes, and built a powerful broad-based coalition. Meanwhile, conservative intellectuals worked at poorly funded think tanks and at small universities, slowly developing a coherent and robust political philosophy. If it wants to get back in the game, the Democratic party will have to do something similar. It has a lot of work to do, and the first item on the agenda should be to show the California linguists the door. M

ON THE WEB: *For more Andrew Potter, visit his new blog at* **www.macleans.ca/andrewpotter**

Iraq: the tough-but-dumb approach to war



"Fourth I D fuelled the insurgency," a U.S army psychological operations officer says in Thomas E. Ricks' important new book, *Fiasco The American Military Adventure in Iraq* "Fourth I.D" is the Army Fourth Infantry Division, notorious even in the early days of the Iraq occupation for cowboy tactics that looked tough but proved devastatingly counterproductive

Anti-U S Iraqi insurgents "would come up from Falluja, set up next to a farmhouse, set off a mortar, and leave," the officer tells Ricks. "And the Fourth I D would respond with counter-battery fire" Say goodbye to the farmhouse Say hello, if its owner survives, to a new enemy of the American occupation Iraqis who didn't have their homes destroyed often found themselves rounded up, by the thousands, for interrogations at Abu Ghraib prison Some went in supporting the U.S action, or not particularly caring After their experiences behind bars, many left as insurgents The Fourth I.D was only the worst offender in using these tactics. It was hardly alone

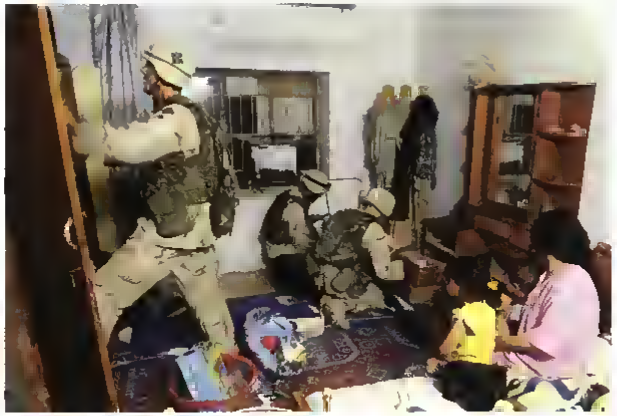
So what? Can't make an omelette without breaking eggs, you might reply Except serious military strategists actually don't believe it's clever to try to win an occupation by driving entire populations into the hands of the insurgents At one point in Ricks's book, one soldier, Lt -Col Alexander Holshek, takes the bold step of challenging his commanding officer, Col. David Hogg, during a briefing in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein "Sir, what is the battlespace?"

Hogg says it's wherever the enemy is

"Sir, wrong answer," Holshek replies "The battlespace isn't physical, it's psychological The battle is for the people . . . you can kill every bad guy, and there will be two more tomorrow—until you start focusing on their support, active or passive, in the resident population."

There's a lot to learn in this book by Ricks, the *Washington Post*'s senior Pentagon correspondent But since I read *Fiasco* during the month-long battle between Israel and Hezbollah, I was most struck by one of Ricks's central themes, which is the danger in clumsily alienating the sympathies of the local population The upshot is bigger trouble than an army thought it was fixing.

Hezbollah is a Shiite organization. Yet in the early 1980s, most Lebanese Shiites welcomed



Serious strategists actually don't believe it's clever to drive people over to the insurgents

the Israeli occupiers Who better to rout out the Palestinian fedayeen among them? But Shiite opinion soon turned sour, often because of apparently minor incidents In October 1983, an Israeli convoy interrupted an outdoor religious commemoration in the village of al Nabatiya Some of the locals threw rocks Some of the troops returned gunfire. Two Shiites died The religious ceremony was *Ashura*, which celebrates communal resistance against a foreign occupier How could a bunch of Israeli kids know that? But an anti Israeli insurgency was born

I get this anecdote from a *Boston Globe* article called "Tipping points how military occupations go sour." The article ends with As'ad AbuKhalil, a Lebanese-born political scientist at California State University, saying "The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan gave us the Taliban The American occupation of Saudi Arabia gave us bin Laden and al-Qaeda The Israeli occupation of Lebanon gave us Hezbollah Let us see what the American occupation of Iraq is going to give us"

It's not true that commanders never learn from history Ricks writes that the *Boston Globe* article about al-Nabatiya was part of a package of readings that Maj Gen James Mattis of the 1st Marine Division distributed to his officers as the Marines prepared to relieve the army in Falluja in 2004 Unlike the sorcerers' apprentices in Donald Rumsfeld's Pentagon (one of Ricks's sources, retired officer Paul Arcangeli, calls Paul Wolfowitz "crack-smoking stupid"), Mattis would conscientiously apply the lessons of military history "both the insurgency and the military force are competing for the same thing the support of the people" Mattis's gentility has clear limits—he advocates "only one 'retirement plan' for terrorists," i e death—but his goal in Falluja is to "break the cycle of violence"

This being Iraq, it all goes wrong. Four civilian contractors are ambushed and killed, their grisly murders covered by CNN and other media outlets. From very high, perhaps the White House, comes the order "Go in and clobber people." Against his will and with no time to plan, Mattis radically escalates the cycle of violence. But after five days of slaughter involving thousands of Marines, 39 of whom are killed, another order comes down to stop the assault dead in its tracks Soon the contractors' murderers are running Falluja

If you go in tough but-dumb, without working hard enough to treat the local population differently from your enemy, you make the local population your enemy Israel's response to Hezbollah's kidnapping failed either to recover its soldiers or to destroy Hezbollah's leadership It left thousands of ordinary lives shattered At what cost? We'll see M

ON THE WEB: *For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at* **www.macleans.ca/mklesswells**

ROB GRIFFITH/AP

Advertisement

Eggs & weight loss



Canadians who are watching their weight will be pleased to know that eggs have been identified as a potential ally in helping them fight the battle of the bulge.

Research has shown that eating two eggs for breakfast instead of a small bagel can reduce hunger and caloric intake both at lunchtime and over the next 24 hours, according to a study published by the Journal of the American College of Nutrition * The study suggests that eggs may be useful in reducing energy intake (calories) and promoting weight management, even when compared to other breakfasts of the same caloric value

Eggs, protein & energy

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STORY OF THE WEEK—A FRAGILE PEACE

On Aug. 15, in light of the tenuous truce brokered by the UN Security Council to end 34 days of fighting between Israel and Hezbollah, some Israeli troops began to withdraw from southern Lebanon, relinquishing their positions to UN peacekeepers. An estimated 200,000 Lebanese civilians who fled villages in the south during the war began returning home to witness the debris. If the truce holds, the Israeli military said the remainder of its troops could be out by next week.

Good news

Spousal benefits

Traditional family values may be rooted in science after all. A new study from Ohio State University found that marriage can help cure depression. A team of sociologists assessed the depression levels of 3,000 single adults, then reassessed them roughly five years later. Those who were depressed before marriage were the most likely to emotionally benefit from marriage. Meanwhile, researchers in California studied 67,000 adults between 1989 and 1997 and found that—age, health and education levels considered—people who never married were 58 per cent more likely to have died during that period than married people who lived with their spouses.

Civil law

Harris International reported this week that lawyers ranked second to last on its annual list of most trusted professions. Only actors were deemed less trustworthy. In Canada, the Canadian Bar Association has been fielding complaints about lawyers who are blatantly rude to clients, witnesses, fellow lawyers and judges. So the CBA could not have picked a better time to introduce its "principles of civility," a new conduct code designed to prove that "counsel can disagree without being disagreeable." Among the types of behaviours the code aims to discourage are name-calling, face-making, and coarse gestures. Unfortunately, exorbitant fees are still allowed.

They still make heroes

Reports last week of a mugger who, in an act of profound cowardice, accosted a quadriplegic man in Ottawa and stole his wallet were enough to shake one's faith in humanity. In the same week, however, more than 20 campers rushed to the aid of an Ontario boy who was trapped amid river rapids, saving his life. Mitchell Blackwell, 21, had plunged 30 m down a set of falls at Arrowhead Provincial Park near Huntsville, and was wedged between rocks as the water rushed by. The campers formed a human chain to keep his head above water until rescuers arrived.

George the absurd

Summer reading for U.S. President George W. Bush this year included Albert Camus's *The Stranger*, a fable about a condemned man who experiences an epiphany about the absurdity of human existence. Although we can't help but find it unsettling to think of the U.S. President contemplating existentialism on his Texas ranch at this delicate moment in global relations, we are encouraged by Bush's literary commentary. According to White House spokesman Tony Snow, the President called *The Stranger* "an interesting book and a quick read." It doesn't appear to have made a dent.

FACE OF THE WEEK



CALL FOR HOPE. At the Toronto International AIDS Conference, Bill Gates predicted, 'overall, this story will have a happy ending'

Bad news

It's a wide world

According to a University of North Carolina nutrition and economics professor, there are now more people fighting obesity in the world than there are fighting hunger. Unfortunately, this is not the result of a significant drop in the number of undernourished people. Rather, says professor Barry Popkin, the obesity trend is exploding, with the worldwide number of overweight people now topping one billion. Most notably, the biggest increases are in parts of Asia, where diets are getting fattier and people less active. "The burden of obesity," he says, now affects rich and poor alike.

Lost and found

Several rather important items were reported missing this week. British Airways said that roughly 10,000 pieces of luggage checked in by its passengers have gone missing at airports since the security alert began last Thursday. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that NASA has misplaced the original 1969 recordings of the Apollo 11 moon landing. In Vietnam, a "radioactive substance" vanished from a cement company in Hoa Binh province. And the U.S. Department of Transportation is on the hunt for a stolen laptop filled with the unencrypted personal information of 133,000 Floridians. On a happier note, two of the 12 White House communications radios that went missing in Iowa prior to Vice-President Dick Cheney's visit there last month have turned up. Two boys, ages 13 and 14, from Bettendorf, Iowa, were playing with the devices after, they say, they found them hidden in the trees behind a couple of hotels.

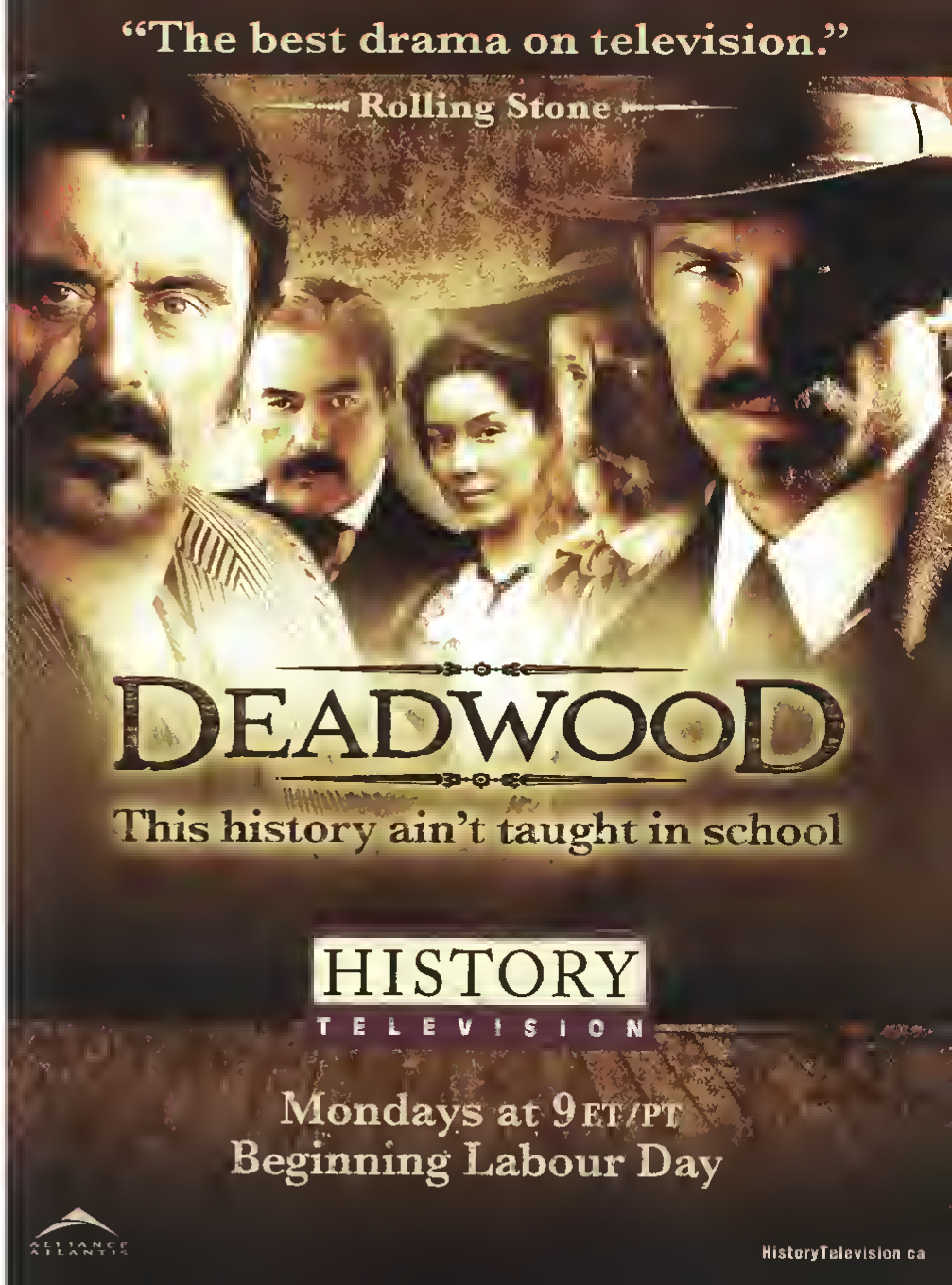
Right embarrassing

These are ignominious days for America's conservative pundits. First, Rush Limbaugh—already serving 18 months of court supervision on prescription fraud charges—was detained in late June for possession of a mislabelled bottle of Viagra. More recently, newspapers in Georgia, Iowa and North Carolina elected to drop Ann Coulter's column from their editorial pages in the wake of her heinous assertion that 9/11 widows were "enjoying" their husbands' deaths. Worst of all, ABC announced this week that Tucker Carlson would star in the new season of its hit show *Dancing with the Stars*. Even his MSNBC producer Willie Geist seemed baffled by the revelation. "I'm not saying I'm Fred Astaire," he said, "but Tucker dances like he's just been tasered after leading police on a high speed chase."

Still no HBO

Season three of HBO's brilliant, gritty cop series, *The Wire*, is finally available on DVD. Too bad our American friends already saw it two years ago when it originally aired on HBO. M

SIMON MAYTER/GETTY IMAGES





A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF STEPHEN HARPER

While activists fumed at his absence from the international AIDS conference in Toronto, the Prime Minister cruised the High Arctic, talking up the issue of Canadian sovereignty in the North. He said that in the past, foreign ships could enter Canada's Arctic waters without Canadian officials even being aware. Back down south, those AIDS activists were wondering about a similar attitude, that of Harper toward the disease

DISCOVERY

Spiders from the deep

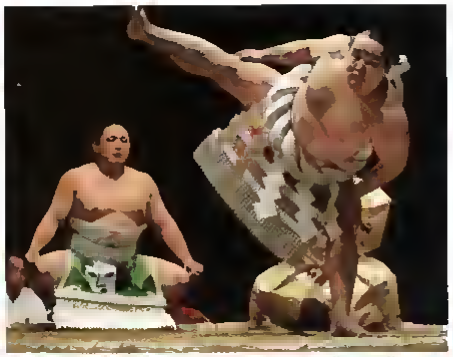
What are they? Science isn't sure and has pondered the question of classifying deep sea spiders for a century. Recently, Claudia Arango of the the Australian Museum reported to a scientific meeting in Tasmania about newly discovered "spiders" found up to seven kilometres beneath the sea off Antarctica. They're yellow, many are blind, have five pairs of legs, and they suck the juices out of their prey through a tube in a large proboscis. Because they have segmented exoskeletons, science would classify them as arthropods, along with crustaceans and spiders. However, the proboscis excludes them from similarities with terrestrial counterparts.



NOT too old to lay an egg

Shoes for the blind

Hong Kong Polytechnic University researchers have created a pair of glasses and accompanying shoes to help the blind navigate. The glasses send out ultrasonic signals to detect obstacles in a blind walker's path, then send a signal to the shoes which vibrate warnings, increasing with intensity. The shoes can detect steps and holes as small as five centimetres.



THE BIG DEAL about sumos is that they're actually very fit

Digital beauty

Tommer Leyvand wants to make you beautiful. The researcher at Tel Aviv University has developed a digital photo processing algorithm that can subtly alter the distance between facial features in amateur snapshots, based on surveys of attractive features. Computers analyzed the survey results, including the desirable distance across the face at eye and mouth levels. Leyvand then wrote a program that subtly changes snapshots of regular people to make them look more appealing.

WILD KINGDOM

Real eagles never quit

Two bald eagles, thought to be 40 years old, have parented a healthy chick at Winnipeg's Assiniboine Park Zoo. In the wild, bald eagles rarely live past 30 years, and these two should have been well beyond their breeding age. Indeed, in recent years the duo have either failed to produce eggs or they yielded eggs that didn't survive. The eagles are so old they have difficulty flying up to their high nest box. The chick, now three months, was incubated on a special ground level straw nest the eagles made.

MORTALITY

Scrub your melons

Fruits and vegetables have become a significant source of food poisoning in North America, rivalling the levels formerly seen in meat. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention says that cantaloupes are repeat offenders, owing to their rough skins, which harbour bacteria such as salmonella. With the rise of global international trade, Canadians and Americans are eating more melon more often. In the last 33 years, melons have sickened 1,600 people, and 68 per cent of the outbreaks have happened in the last 10 years. The CDC's advice: scrub cantaloupe skins thoroughly before cutting the fruit.

Sumo-cizing

The Japanese are slimming down the way sumo wrestlers do. A new DVD of simple exercises featuring 255-lb. Hokutosho demonstrates stretches and squats. The wrestlers are actually extremely fit and their exercises are used to perform ceremonial stomping at the beginning of bouts. The exercises can be used by athletes of any age and ability.

Fatter babies

Even babies are obese these days. A study of Massachusetts infants has found that the average weight of babies under six months is now higher than it was 20 years ago. Weight gain at the dawn of life can presage weight issues and high blood pressure later in life. A two-decade study shows that although the proportion of tubby babies is still low, only six per cent, it is double what it was in 1980. One possible reason is that many overweight babies were born to overweight mothers.

MONEY

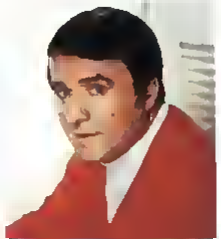
The millionairesses

The ranks of female millionaires are growing in Britain. Women make up 46 per cent of that country's millionaires. By 2020, according to the Centre for Economics and Business Research, they may outnumber male millionaires. Behind the surge in female wealth is more shrewd investing (women are more likely to buy stocks than men), rising real estate values and better divorce settlements.

IN PASSING

Mike Douglas, 81, U.S. talk show host of the 1960s and '70s. He hosted a number of firsts and lasts. Judy Garland sang *Over the Rainbow* for the last time on his show before her death in 1969. In 1978, he hosted a two year old golf prodigy named Tiger Woods. M

DOUGLAS gave Tiger his start



LEFT TO RIGHT KEN GIGLIOTTI/CP; PAUL SAKUMA/AP; HULTON ARCHIVE

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_THE INVASION

_DAY 11. This storage sprawl is mind-boggling. All this data is suffocating. The boxes are everywhere. What they lack in scalability and access, they make up for in costs and sheer numbers. I've gone into hiding under the desk. I don't know what else to do.

_This can't be good for my posture. There's got to be a better way.

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A PARANOID PIXIE AT 24 SUSSEX & IGNATIEFF'S NEW ADDRESS OTTAWA OUTTAKES BY MITCHEL RAPHAEL

HANDS OFF DION'S BATTERED BAG

In 1996, when Stephane **Dion** took over as minister of intergovernmental affairs, he was invited to speak at a Federation of Canadian Municipalities meeting in Calgary. **Bryon Wilfert**, who is now a Liberal MP for Richmond Hill, Ont., was a municipal councillor and president of the FCM at the time. Before Dion got there, Wilfert had already heard about the minister's "ratty nylon knapsack." (Dion switched to a knapsack when his daughter Jeanne was born, juggling briefcase and baby was just too difficult.) After the talk, Wilfert gave Dion a chic distressed brown leather knapsack as a gift. The Quebec MP has faithfully carried it ever since, even after former PM **Jean Chrétien** infamously told him, "You're in the cabinet now—ditch the knapsack." Dion was then given a briefcase to carry. And he did, technically. Except that at the next cabinet meeting, Dion opened the briefcase and pulled out the leather bag. No word on Chrétien's reaction. After that, the briefcase disappeared and Dion went back to carrying his bag. "Anything that is important is in the knapsack," says Wilfert, who should know. He is now the national caucus chair for Dion's leadership campaign. Few people are even allowed to touch the leather bag. At a recent meeting with environmental business leaders, Dion's leadership Ontario caucus chair, former MP **Paddy Torsney** (who lost her Burlington, Ont., seat to Conservative MP **Mike Wallace**), got to lug only Dion's "heavy" garment bag to her hybrid car when she took him to the airport.



DION, (inset) Paddy Torsney

MRS. HARPER AND THE EMPRESS

Summer readers at 24 Sussex this year were obsessed with series. Prime Minister **Stephen Harper** read the Artemis Fowl books by Irish author **Eoin Colfer** with his 10-year-old son, **Ben Harper**. The hero of the fantasy novels is a teenaged criminal child prodigy who discovers a dangerous underworld populated with creatures like a kleptomaniac dwarf and a paranoid pixie. The fifth Artemis Fowl novel is due out in September. The Prime Minister read seven-year-old **Rachel Harper** the Trixie Belden books, which first appeared in the 1940s and feature a spunky tomboy detective who has problems with math. **Laureen Harper** tackled the Josephine B. trilogy (which brings together three previously published novels) by Ottawa Valley author **Sandra Gulland**. Part of why Gulland was attracted to **Napoleon**'s wife, the author has written, was that "she wasn't raised to be a queen, so it's not hard to imagine how terrifying it must have been for her, and to admire her courage in bowing to the demands of a very public life. She made an excellent empress."



LAUREEN HARPER and her summer reading: the three novels of the Josephine B. trilogy by Sandra Gulland



STEVEN FLETCHER (left) with Bill Graham

IGNATIEFF TEAM COOLS OFF

The early August heat wave made **Michael Ignatieff**'s leadership headquarters in Toronto so unbearable that staffers ran out for fans. The office was just off downtown's Yonge Street, a block south of the Brass Rail strip club and above a convenience store in a nondescript building. But team Ignatieff has now moved to more swank offices at a chi-chi Bloor Street address in the Colonnade heritage building, above upscale shops like Lacoste and Godiva chocolates. All that is left at the old office is a Business Depot "Sorry We Missed You" notice dated Aug. 11.

A CONSERVATIVE CHE GUEVARA?

At the opening ceremonies for the anti-**Stephen Harper** 16th International AIDS Conference in Toronto, the longest introduction was for the federal health minister. The emcee practically begged the audience not to boo **Tony Clement** by listing everything he'd done for the AIDS cause when he was Ontario health minister. That didn't stop dozens from standing up to protest the PM's absence with pillowcases marked "Sleep in Steve? HIV never sleeps." (The PM was in Nunavut that day.) There probably would have been more angry gay activists present had it not been for the Mariah Carey concert down the street. Sitting in the front row at the AIDS ceremony was Clement's parliamentary secretary, Winnipeg MP **Steven Fletcher**, who is now sporting facial scruff. "Did that get by caucus?" joked Liberal interim leader **Bill Graham**. "It's a little too Che Guevara for the Conservative party." M

Mitchel Raphael can be contacted at mitchelraphael@attglobal.net

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: MITCHEL RAPHAEL, MITCHEL RAPHAEL, MATT DUNHAM/AP



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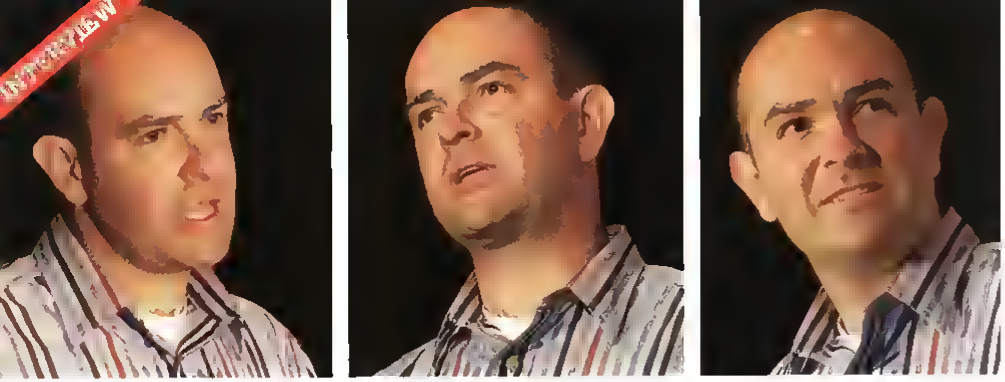
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BUY ONLINE AND SAVE

BUNDLE WITH HOME PHONE AND SAVE



'It doesn't matter if most of the stuff out there is crap because we can find an awful lot of gems that are right for us'

CHRIS ANDERSON, AUTHOR OF *THE LONG TAIL*, TALKS TO KENNETH WHYTE ABOUT WHY BLOCKBUSTERS AREN'T THE ONLY GAME IN TOWN ANYMORE

Q *For the benefit of our readers who are not yet familiar with your book, what's a long tail?*

A: Well, it's broadly about life after the blockbuster, it's what happens to our culture and our economy as we shift from mass markets to millions of niche markets, and very specifically it refers to the long tail of the sales curve where the high part represents the best-sellers and the products that are hits, and then that falls off, as sales do, and in most retail and distribution markets that's where you cut it off, because shelf space is expensive—you only have so many channels and television screens. That would be the end of it, except now we have new markets that have essentially unlimited shelf space, many of them online—Amazon and iTunes and such—and you don't have to cut it off, you can offer everything. What we're now able to measure is the size of the market for all those niche products that, although no single one of them sells a lot, in aggregate they sell often as much as a third or more of the total market.

Q: *The subtitle of the book is "Why the Future of Business is Selling Less of More," so you must see this as something that is not only a present phenomenon but a growing phenomenon.*

A: Absolutely. Basically anything the Internet touches in retail or distribution of a product tends to make distribution cheaper. Any time you can lower the cost of distribution—which is effectively lowering the cost of shelf space—you can offer more stuff, and if you can offer more stuff you start to see a long tail effect. This took off first in the entertainment markets where it was easy to digitize many products such as music and video—and text of course—and it ultimately did create more products, and many more participants. But it's now extending into hard goods as well. You can see the early examples in things like eBay, which is sort of the long tail of physical goods.

Q: *On the question of the blockbusters—from a Canadian perspective, we're proud of the fact that, with Shania Twain, we've produced the No 7 bestselling album of all time, and I think Alanis Morissette weighed in at No. 12, and our own James Cameron did* Titanic, *which was the top grossing movie of all time.*

A: I had no idea those three were Canadian.

Q: *Yeah, and Mike Myers has a No. 3 spot in the movies with* Shrek II. *So we kind of feel we're living in a golden age of the blockbuster here. You can't tell us it's over!*

A: Well, there will always be blockbusters and hits, and one of the most common misinterpretations of the book is that it's the end of the blockbuster or the end of the hit. What it is, instead, is the end of the monopoly of the blockbuster, the monopoly of the hit. Now there's room for everything, and the bestsellers have to share the stage with millions of niche products, and that's the world of the long tail. There will always be hits because we're a gregarious species, and because some things are better than others, and there's always word-of-mouth snowball effects that tend to create herding behaviour, and that's not going to change. What is going to change is that they're going to be competing with many niche products, and you're going to see less of the market concentrated around those blockbusters and more of it distributed across the entire curve. You're actually going to see a whole crop of new hits, and these are the kind of grass roots hits, the ones that emerged from non-traditional sources, the YouTube hits, the MySpace hits, the independent acts that weren't necessarily signed to a label.

Q: *Is the long tail something new or is it something evolutionary? Long before the Internet, Barnes & Noble and Borders, the book superstores, were around. And before Barnes & Noble and Borders, every reasonably sized city in Canada or the U.S. had a bookstore with 100,000 titles, and a bunch of good used bookstores, and you could always go to your public library, and you had inter-library loan—you had access to pretty much everything out there, so in some sectors the long tail has been around for a long time.*

A: The way to look at that is to realize how long that tail is. For example, you describe 100,000 books as the long tail. I refer to that as the short head. There are 3.7 million books in print in English, and close to 70 million books in total, including those that are out of print. So the long tail is, you know, from 100,000 on to 3.7 million. In other words, it's stuff that isn't available in the Barnes & Noble and the Borders, and that has not been easily accessible.

Q: *There's no arguing, it's a hundred times more convenient now.*

A: Exactly. The question is not that this stuff wasn't out there, it's that it wasn't easily available. I mean, look at the eBay effect or the Google effect. You can pretty much assume that if something's made anywhere in the world it is a few clicks away from you. This wasn't information that I could get before, and now it is, and that sort of takes a latent long tail and turns it into a practical one.

Q: *What percentage of the stuff that's actually out there in the long tail is crap? I mean, you mentioned eBay.*

A: Most of it.

Q: *Most of it.*

A: Yeah, but two things about that. First of all, you know, one person's crap is another person's...

Q: *Treasure.*

A: Yes, and secondly it doesn't matter if most of the stuff out there is crap because, if we have really good tools and filters and ways to screen out the crap, we can still find an awful lot of gems that are just right for us.

Q *Is it possible that the long tail may actually serve, in the end, to feed the blockbuster? I mean, looking at the book world again, we've had things like the Harry Potter and the Dan Brown phenomena in recent years, a lot of people buying those books over the Internet, a lot of people talking to one another about them over the Internet, it kind of feeds a hit in a way.*

A: That's the fortunate thing about the research I did for the book, which is that I didn't have to guess, I was able to measure the effect. We now have enough years of industries that have gone online—music, DVDs, books being the obvious examples—to actually see what happens as that form of buying becomes mainstream. And what happens is that you do see a shift in demand from the head down into the tail. It is a shape of radical inequality. That's where you have a small number of things that sell a lot and a large number of things that sell a little. It's just the difference between head and tail is not quite as pronounced as it is in traditional retail markets. In a regular store, one of the reasons that the Harry Potters and the Dan Browns sell so well is they're the ones stacked a hundred high at the front of the store. Online everything is sort of equally findable, equally prominent in display and, as a result, it's more of a level playing field for all the titles.

Q: *Is it now, or is it going to be in the future, a normal trajectory for the gems found in the long tail to get taken up by conventional media and the people who make the blockbusters?*

A: Yeah, that's a good question.

Q: *I just thought of the blogger Wonkette who has gone to* Time *magazine now.*

A Yeah, I think it's increasingly going to be the case. You know, the old model was that the way traditional industries find talent is that you have to sort of luck out and get your foot in the door, get discovered by a talent scout or something like that, and it's a long process to get into the factory, to get access to the channels of distribution. And once you're there, of course you have an extraordinarily powerful machine behind you, but most people never get in. The new model is, of course, increasingly people just sort of put it out there because they can, they upload their videos to YouTube, they write a blog, they upload the music to MySpace, and they start to get traction based on a kind of organic grassroots demand. Now, at that point they either go through the traditional channels with some evidence of their success, or they decide to stick with that channel and to renounce the traditional forms of distribution because they like the freedom, or perhaps they're getting 100 per cent of the revenues. For the mainstream media and entertainment folks, their challenge is to say, "Okay, what can we offer that these people can't do for themselves?" And increasingly they have answers to that, which is that they are going to use the grassroots as kind of a distributed talent scout.

Q: *And so what do they do, then? Do they confer legitimacy on these people?*

A: Exactly that. They confer a little bit of legitimacy. They can give you access to those other channels like the Wal-Marts of the world—that iTunes alone can't get you to, and they can do marketing—and so they can take you to the next level of popularity.

Q: *Now, you're the editor of* Wired, *you're in the magazine business, which is ink on paper distributed by trucks and sold in airports and grocery stores. It's the crudest and most cumbersome of old media, and now you've written a book which by all indications is going to be a blockbuster. It's a little amusing, isn't it?*

A: I can live with that irony. I live in both worlds. We used to compete with other magazines and newspapers, and now we compete with other magazines and newspapers and 27 million blogs. Those blogs can do something we can't do, which is they can be hyper-narrow. We had to ask ourselves what can we do that they can't do. So the answer, of course, is that the glossy magazine, as you well know, can have long form journalism, lavish photography, high-end design. That's something that doesn't work well on the screen. And then the reality is we can use those long tail forces—we also have a website, and that website can migrate away from being a lecture and become more of a conversation between us and our very smart readers.

Q: *You must be under pressure, like everybody else in conventional media is, to grow year after year. With the long tail flourishing, does that put you in jeopardy?*

A: I resist what we usually call end-ism. You know, Hollywood is huge, the television industry is huge, and even the fact that television—network mainstream television—is in decline in terms of viewership numbers on an individual channel basis, and maybe Hollywood and box office have peaked, and maybe the magazine industry or newsstands have peaked, this doesn't mean that it's in any sense dead. It's still the biggest game in town, it's just a game with a lot more competition. Yes, it becomes harder to grow using the old model, but those same tools that have created this army of amateur competitors also let us do our job differently and potentially better. So you're seeing smart television creators use the YouTube effect. It's a fantastic form of word-of-mouth marketing to reach audiences they weren't reaching through traditional broadcast. Sometimes this translates into revenue, sometimes it doesn't yet, but it's clear that there's an opportunity not to die but to change, and that those of us who do will probably succeed. M



'Bestsellers share the stage with millions of niche products'

BULLETS FLY. OTTAWA DUCKS.

How Canada slipped into a war our leaders can't—or won't—explain

BY JOHN GEDDES

By now the image of a maple leaf draped coffin being loaded into the belly of a military transport plane at Kandahar airfield is familiar to any Canadian with a TV set. Troops line the tarmac at attention, except for the recently wounded, who sometimes weep in their wheelchairs. The grimmest day so far for the Canadians was Aug. 3, when three soldiers from Canada's 2,000-plus contingent in Afghanistan were killed in a rocket-propelled grenade attack, and a fourth died when his armoured vehicle hit a roadside bomb. Ten more Canadian soldiers were injured by Taliban insurgents that day. "We've got to be patient," was the reaction of Brig.-Gen. David Fraser, the top Canadian officer in Afghanistan. "We've got to be determined to see this through as long as it takes."

A commander in the field has little choice but to adopt a resolute tone when the news is so bad. And in wartime, a general making the case for staying the course might normally expect patriotic citizens back home to be inclined to agree. But recent polls suggest a majority of Canadians no longer support staying in Afghanistan, and misgivings about what it's all about are entirely understandable. Determined to see this through for as long as *what* takes? How much sacrifice and to what end? Canada's political and military leaders have done little to answer those fundamental questions about what is arguably the biggest test of Canadian military mettle and foreign policy savvy in a generation.

Canada's initial engagement in Afghanistan back in 2002 was to be a brief post-9/11 mission, largely to help the Americans hunt terrorists. The second phase that began in 2003 was sold as something akin to a conventional peacekeeping assignment—and a politically palatable alternative to joining the coming U.S. invasion of Iraq. Even moving Canadian troops south from the relative safety of Kabul, the capital, to Kandahar, the main city in the Taliban's volatile southern heartland, was being described by politicians and top officers only a few months ago as not really a combat mission. Take Fraser's own media briefing on the Kandahar challenge back on Feb. 2. Pressed repeatedly to describe the sort of fighting he expected, the general deflected the questions onto safer ground. "My focus," he insisted, "is not on combat."

Although he allowed that Canadian soldiers would shoot if they needed to, he framed the mission in much softer terms. "It's Foreign Affairs, it's CIDA, it's the RCMP, and it's the [Afghan] national government agencies and international community working together." But that sort of talk of a balanced effort in which the army supports the work of diplomats and aid workers soon began to sound like a fantasy. Instead, this spring and summer brought all but uninterrupted hard fighting, punctuated increasingly by suicide bomber attacks, as Canadian and other NATO forces, mainly American, British and Dutch, pressed into Taliban strongholds in an offensive called Operation Mountain Thrust.

Gen. Rick Hillier, the charismatic chief of defence staff, who is deeply committed to helping Afghanistan find its feet as a democracy, recently admitted the obvious: the Taliban resistance in the south has been stiffer this summer than anyone expected. But Lt.-Gen. David Richards, the British officer who now commands all NATO troops in Afghanistan, has been far blunter. He openly speaks of the possibility of the Taliban winning if NATO forces fail to push back the insurgents sufficiently over the next few weeks, and unless ordinary Afghans see their own prosperity and security grow markedly better over the next three to five years. "If it doesn't visibly improve soon," Richards said, "people are going to say we'd rather have the certain security—albeit the rotten life that goes with it—of the Taliban than go on fighting forever."

Canadian military and political figures haven't come close to that sort of bracing frankness. But Canadians seem to have figured out for themselves that Afghanistan could turn out to be a disaster. A Strategic Counsel poll this week found that 55 per cent opposed the military mission in Kandahar, up from 41 per cent in March. Reversing that trend might seem like an obvious step for Stephen Harper. Yet the Prime Minister hasn't made explaining Afghanistan to Canadians much of a priority, beyond his speech on a motion in the House last spring to extend the mission by two years to February 2009—a parliamentary ploy that looked more designed to expose a rift in the Liberal party on the issue than to spark serious debate.

But Afghanistan preoccupies Defence and Foreign Affairs strategists much more than that hurried and highly partisan parliamentary debate suggests. It has come to dominate the two main dimensions of Ottawa's outlook on the world: managing our bilateral relationship with the U.S. and leveraging our position in multilateral organizations. On one hand, Canadian boots on the ground in Afghanistan lend Ottawa much of whatever credibility it boasts in today's terror-obsessed Washington. On the other, the growing UN-sanctioned NATO role in Afghanistan makes this the key test for a new sort of muscular but benign multilateral intervention. Helping the sixth-poorest nation on earth, while preventing it from reverting to being an incubator for terrorism, might be worth it. "We have no strategic planning on Afghanistan," says Rob Huebert, a professor at the University of Calgary's Centre for Military and Strategic Studies. "But we may have just stumbled into the right place."

A TOUGHER PLACE to work out a new way for Canada to play a part in global affairs is hard to imagine. Afghanistan is infamous for chewing up armies and spitting them out. Skeptical observers are inclined to draw a stark lesson from that history: it will never work. They have their pick of grisly old images to draw on to illustrate their point. The headless, mutilated body of William Macnaghten, the optimistic bureaucrat put in charge of the first British bid to take over Afghanistan, hanging at the gates to the Kabul market in 1841. (Macnaghten was killed after foolishly trying to double-cross insurgents at a meeting during a truce.) The British retreat



CANADIAN SOLDIERS arrive in Panjwai, west of Kandahar, in June 2006

JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

'We have no strategic planning on Afghanistan. But we may have just stumbled into the right place.'

from Kabul that followed his death was a legendary fiasco, ending with a lone survivor of the withdrawal of 4,500 soldiers and 12,000 camp followers riding a dying horse into a British outpost fort. Despite that doleful experience, Britain invaded again in 1879, won the military campaign, but pulled out without making a real effort to rule the fractious country.

Britain's influence in the region, though, remained potent as long as neighbouring India was part of its empire. In one of those consequential exercises in colonial map-making, the British drew a border called the Durand Line in 1893, which still divides Afghanistan from Pakistan. It cuts through the tribal lands of the Pashtuns, Afghanistan's largest ethnic group, representing about 40 per cent of the population today. Dividing the fiercely independent Pashtuns, who usually ruled Afghanistan, might have made sense to a shrewd foreign power, but that border has always been problematic. After the Soviet Union invaded in 1979, many Afghan Pashtuns fled across it to camps in the Pashtun territories of Pakistan. It was there that the Taliban emerged among refugee Pashtuns in 1994, fuelled by a toxic blend of puritanical Islam and the influence of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency.

The British period tends to be paired with the more recent Soviet chapter as two cautionary tales. Like the Brits before them, the Russians found overrunning Afghanistan quite easy. Then the hard part started. In the face of the Soviet army, Afghan mujahedeen fighters melted away into the hard-scrabble countryside or Pakistan. But with U.S. and Saudi Arabian support, they never stopped fighting. At the peak of the Soviet campaign, Moscow poured 120,000 soldiers into Afghanistan—about three times the current U.S. and NATO troop strength in the country. The Russians spent an estimated US$45 billion in a futile effort to crush the resistance, and lost about 15,000 soldiers, before giving up and going home in 1989, leaving behind ancient orchards flattened to deny cover to insurgents and long stretches of the road system bombed or mined beyond use.

They also left a power vacuum that well armed factions fought each other to fill. The frighteningly fundamentalist Taliban came out on top by 1996, imposing the harshest Islamic law and denying women even the most basic rights. Only Pakistan and Saudi Arabia recognized the Taliban government, but world disapproval didn't amount to much until the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. Then the Taliban became a prime target for having allowed Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda to operate terror camps inside Afghanistan. Less than a month after the World Trade Center towers fell, the U.S. and Britain launched air strikes on Kabul. The Taliban were bombed out of power with deceptive ease, losing control of their last stronghold—Kandahar, naturally—by early December.

But critics say George W. Bush's White House squandered the early opportunity to pour in enough troops and money to turn Afghanistan around for good. Bush's neocon foreign-policy thinkers didn't believe in the concept of nation-building in general, and they interpreted the Russian experience as proving that Afghans would resist any large foreign presence. So they tried to get by at first with a "light footprint" approach—a small-ish force of 10,000 and an initial Afghan reconstruction budget request of just US$500 million. "History sometimes provides poor analogies," says James Dobbins, Bush's first special envoy to Afghanistan. "The U.S. administration's policy back in 2001-02 was definitely influenced by popular conceptions of what happened to the Russians, and even the British. The feeling was that the Afghans were notoriously xenophobic, and therefore one had to commit the minimum resources and avoid exacerbating resistance."

Dobbins argues that, in fact, the Afghans were so war-weary after a quarter-century of killing the Russians and then each other that they were hungry for intervention. "Polling showed that Afghans welcomed an international presence, were really tired of civil war, and prepared to do almost anything to prevent its resumption," he says. The early flow of aid money was a trickle by the standards of recent nation-building efforts in failed states: annual assistance spending in Afghanistan during the first two years of international intervention totalled just US$57 per person, compared with US$206 in Iraq, US$526 in East Timor, and US$679 in Bosnia. Those figures come from research spearheaded by Dobbins at the RAND Corp., the foreign-policy think tank where he is now an analyst. He focuses on the most politically telling contrast to show how the Afghan effort was shortchanged: "Afghanistan is bigger than Iraq, it's poorer than Iraq, it's more heavily damaged by war than Iraq."

The Bush administration has since realized that stabilizing Afghanistan will take much more. The U.S. now has about 20,000 troops in the country, and Bush's 2006 budget earmarked US$1.1 billion for Afghan development spending. But it took more than four years after the fall of the Taliban for large numbers of coalition troops to make their presence felt deep in the Taliban's home turf, while development efforts in that dangerous southern zone have been spotty at best. Even the widespread reopening of schools—which had been touted as a major success of the post-Taliban era—is threatened. In the past 12 months, 208 schools have been closed after emboldened Taliban insurgents burned 144 more and killed 41 teachers and students.

Larry Goodson, professor at the U.S. Army War College and author of *Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics and the Rise of the Taliban*, worries that a historic chance to make a decisive break in Afghanistan's violent history has been missed. "The window of opportunity has been closing," Goodson says, "and we didn't take advantage of it."







SOVIET-OCCUPIED Kabul, 1988 (left); Afghani guerrilla fighter, 1978 (right)

HARPER in Kandahar, 2006; (below) Gen. John Abizaid, left, and Donald Rumsfeld

The Afghans were so war weary after a quarter-century of killing the Russians and then each other that they were hungry for help

IF WASHINGTON took too long to grasp what Afghanistan demanded, Ottawa hardly stands as a beacon of early insight. From the outset, federal politicians have either grossly underestimated what Canada was getting into—or lacked the courage to be candid in their statements. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien dispatched a battalion of ground troops and Joint Task Force 2 commandos to Afghanistan in early 2002 as part of the U.S.-led invasion. But the Taliban had already fallen in late 2001, so it looked more like a mopping-up mission than the beginning of a long, tough peacemaking exercise. Liberal defence minister Art Eggleton said the deployment might last just a couple of months, and certainly wouldn't grow to rival "the kind of long mission" Canada undertook in splintered Yugoslavia in the 1990s.



In hindsight, his prognosis looks dead wrong. Canada's engagement in Afghanistan, in which 26 troops and one diplomat have died so far, has made the 14-year Balkan experience, which claimed no Canadian lives in combat, look mild by comparison. Back in early 2002, however, Eggleton's view of Afghanistan as a limited challenge seemed reasonable. By that spring, the government announced its 750 regular soldiers would be pulled out by August, leaving only JTF2 to help U.S. forces strike al-Qaeda and Taliban remnants. At that point,

JOSHUA ROBERTS/REUTERS; TOM HANSON/CP

ABBAS/MAGNUM PHOTOS; RAYMOND DEPARDON/MAGNUM PHOTOS

the only Canadian soldiers killed in Afghanistan were the four who died when a U S pilot mistakenly bombed them during a night training exercise

Still, behind the scenes, top military planners were worried from the outset about what Canada had gotten itself into "My concern—indeed, it's fair to say the collective military concern—was that if we get involved here, this is a long term issue," recalls Lt. Gen. Mike Jeffery, now retired, who was head of the Canadian army at the time "The history of the region is that this is not an area you are going to get out of quickly or easily" The Americans didn't seem to view Afghanistan's quagmire potential with the same misgivings Hunting al-Qaeda and the Taliban was the U S priority, not worrying about how long it would take to secure Afghanistan's lasting stability "Fundamentally, they were chasing bad guys," Jeffery says "At that stage of the game it was not about nation building "

Marvin Weinbaum, an Afghanistan and Pakistan analyst for the U S State Department from 1999 to 2003, now scholar in-residence at the Middle East Institute in Washington, agrees "There should have been more concern about how we head off insurgency and less concern about terrorism" But in the White House, the fragile new Kabul government was viewed in those early days not as a vulnerable work-in-progress, but as a mission accomplished By the summer of 2002, U S Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld was calling Afghanistan "a breathtaking accomplishment" that served as "a successful model for what could happen to Iraq if individuals were liberated"

Of course, Iraq was fast emerging to overshadow Afghanistan In Ottawa, the prospect of being drawn into Bush's "coalition of the willing" worried Chrétien's government Turning the U S down was bound to cause a rift between the two countries, but Canada might salvage some respectability in Washington by renewing involvement in that other front in the war on terror, Afghanistan, which looked like a far less dangerous option Toronto-area MP John McCallum, who was then Chrétien's defence minister, remembers tension between the government and top Canadian Forces officers over this calculated trade-off "They wanted to go into Iraq," McCallum says "The military leadership of the day wasn't terribly enthusiastic about Afghanistan."

Despite that resistance, McCallum announced on Feb 12, 2003, that Canada was sending a contingent of more than 1,000 soldiers to bolster the NATO force in Kabul He saw the potential to both support the U S and stay within the bounds of the Canadian peacekeeping tradition "It was more in the nature of peacekeeping, not so much peacemaking," he says of the mission "I was convinced that we were there at the invitation of the Afghan government, with the acquiescence of the vast majority of the Afghan people " Canadian officials were talking up what they called the 3-D approach, the blending of defence, development and diplomacy It didn't sound much like warfare.

If the Liberals' hope to do good in Afghanistan was genuine, heading back into the country was more immediately motivated by the desire to avoid sending forces to help topple Saddam In a speech soon after announcing the mission, McCallum's pointed message was that this would be Canada's military contribution to the war on terrorism—and Washington knew better than to ask for more. "The Afghanistan mission is right for Canada," he said, "Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld welcomed the initiative Mr Rumsfeld, I might add, is fully cognizant of the fact that this mission limits the deployment of Canadian land forces to other parts of the world for well over a year"

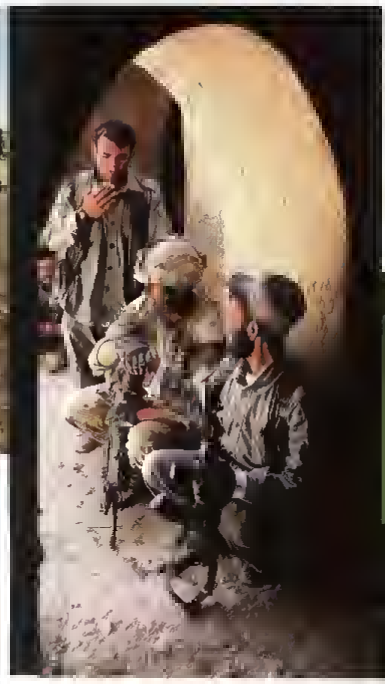
Returning to Afghanistan during the buildup to the Iraq war didn't sit well with key Canadian military strategists Some saw Canada's proper place as squarely inside a coalition dominated by our traditional allies, the U S and Britain Maj-Gen Cameron Ross, who was director general of international security policy at the Department of National Defence headquarters in Ottawa, quit in June 2003, reportedly over the redeployment decision.

But a least a few senior officers approved of the call—and McCallum remembers that a rising star general from Newfoundland, Rick Hillier, was among them. He was promoted to commander of the army that spring, and a few months later he took over as commander of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force in Kabul For the forcefully outspoken soldier who was to be named chief of defence staff in early 2005, serving in Afghanistan seems to have left a deep personal and professional impression He emerged as a driving force behind Canada's sustained Afghan commitment

In an interview with *Maclean's* after taking over as Canada's top general, Hillier explained where Afghanistan fit in his vision for the military Earlier, he had commanded NATO's forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina He described how Canadian forces were at times scattered in various corners of the former Yugoslavia. That presence was too diffuse to earn Canada the "influential seat at the table" that Hillier felt was deserved "We can do better," he concluded "We can offer our government more options to pile on in such a way that we get the profile and we get the credit for it."

By piling on, Hillier meant deploying troops in large enough groups to be noticed As well, he emphasized the need for a "whole-government approach," bringing diplomacy and development assistance into close coordination with plenty of men and women in uniform Afghanistan has been Hillier's chance to put that formula—a substantial, multi-faceted effort—into action But the country clearly represents more to him than a strategic opportunity Hillier came back from his stint in Kabul talking emotionally about the people he had met "Once they decided that you weren't there to invade or control Afghanistan, they quite literally and physically wrapped their arms around you," Hillier said "You had to experience their version of friendship to understand it I experienced it from normal people we met right through to President Hamid Karzai himself, and including many of the warlords "







SOLDIERING ON Catching some sleep in the desert, talking to an Afghan policeman, last-minute vehicle checks before leaving camp

JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES, SERGEANT CAROLE MORISSETTE/COMBAT CAMERA

SGT DENNIS POWER/ARMY NEWS

Canada did not march into Afghanistan with a clear vision of the long hard task at hand

In fact, the warlords, so often seen as an obstacle to peace, earned Hillier's most effusive praise. "Those who had survived 23, 24 years of all out warfare were incredibly capable soldiers," he said. "All of them had a part to play in liberating their country, one way or another Afterwards, when there was no solid government in place, there were some rivalries, and of course some of them got involved in the drug trade " Still, Hillier saw more good in the local strongmen than others might. "Many of these folks were incredible leaders Many of them had one goal, and that was a stronger Afghanistan. Others went into the drug trade, but in many cases from insecurity, because they didn't know what their position was going to be in a future Afghanistan. Some of them became very close friends."

There is a blend of realism and romanticization in Hillier's take on Afghanistan. The mission there offers a chance to test his theory that Canada can win a seat at the grown ups' table in world affairs—and an opportunity to help people whose historic plight and national character touched him After he took over the Forces, it was perhaps inevitable that Canada's role in Afghanistan would expand In May 2005, Paul Martin, who as prime minister had promoted Hillier a few months before, decided to send Canadian troops to Kandahar, a far more dangerous base than Kabul had been Hillier talked tough "These are detestable murderers and scumbags," he said of the Taliban elements his troops were bound to encounter His political boss agreed Bill Graham, Martin's defence minister, embarked on what some called a "pre body bag" speaking tour last fall, trying to brace the public for the inevitable casualties

THE SHIFT of Canadian operations south from Kabul happened in stages A so-called provincial reconstruction team, combining soldiers, development advisers and Foreign Affairs officers, arrived in Kandahar in fall 2005 But the bulk of the troops, including a battle group, wouldn't follow until after the Jan 23, 2006, election that brought Harper's Conservatives to power With their traditional pro-military bent, some might have expected the Tories to be upfront about the army's fighting role Instead, their tone was more guarded than Graham's had been only a few months before

Gordon O'Connor, the retired general Harper named defence minister, played down the likelihood of combat In an interview, he said rather vaguely that the Canadian task force in Kandahar was there "to provide a security environment" What about fighting the Taliban? "Our role is not to conduct combat operations," O'Connor stressed, although there might be some "rooting out of insurgents." But of course combat would turn out to be the main job Canadian troops in Kandahar had little choice Convoys were subjected to suicide bombings and roadside explosions, a young reservist was attacked with an axe as he sat talking with village elders Harper used adversity as a rallying point in a surprise March trip to Kandahar "Cutting and running is not my way," he told about 1,000 troops there, "and it's not the Canadian way"

In the weeks and months after his visit, the fighting intensified In April, four Canadians were killed when their G-Wagon, a sort of armoured jeep, struck an improvised explosive device north of Kandahar city. In May, Capt Nichola Goddard of Shilo, Man., died in a fierce firefight with Taliban forces, the first female member of the Canadian military killed in combat since the Second World War In June, the U S-led coalition launched its most aggressive push since the fall of the Taliban in late 2001 About 10,000 troops, including 500 to 1,000 Canadians, mounted Operation Mountain Thrust, a long-planned summer bid to expand their presence insurgents fought long battles to try to hold what had been safe havens That surprised experts on Taliban tactics like Goodson, and Canadian soldiers who had been told to expect a more elusive enemy "That is a change of tactic by the Taliban," said one Canadian officer of the drawn-out firefights "But they are often losing by such large numbers that it is often bewildering to our planners "

But inflicting pain on the Taliban has resonated far less back home than news of young Canadian lives lost. Poignant stories that came out after the death of Cpl. Anthony Boneca seemed to bring the uncertainty about just what we were fighting for in Afghanistan to the surface. Before he was killed in a firefight, Boneca reportedly told friends back home that he felt unprepared to wage a counter-insurgency campaign, and unclear about why Canada was in the fray. But the 21-year-old Thunder Bay, Ont., reservist's grieving father stressed that his son had loved being in the Forces and was proud to make a difference in the lives of Afghanistan's poor people, especially the children.

Both versions of his state of mind rang true. It's not so different from the conflicting feelings of Canadians far removed from the combat zone—proud that their country is contributing, but shocked by how hard the task has turned out to be, and foggy on exactly what Canada expects to accomplish.

HARPER MIGHT SAY that he answered those questions in his May 17 speech in the House. He cast the mission mainly as a matter of preventing Afghanistan from lapsing back into being a terrorist haven. "We just cannot sit back," he said, "and let the Taliban backed by al-Qaeda or other extremist elements re-

Harper was prompted by Hillier's remark to issue a public reminder that elected politicians, not uniformed officers, decide when a Canadian military mission will end. True enough. But the Prime Minister has barely hinted at what signs of progress toward security in Afghanistan would indicate that Canada's army is no longer needed. That seems to violate Department of National Defence policy, which states that before sending troops into any failing country, the government should have a clear "exit strategy" or define the "end state" conditions that signal mission accomplished. Senator Colin Kenny, chairman of the Senate national security and defence committee, has pressed for such clarity, first from the Liberals and now the Conservatives. "The committee is very critical of the government," Kenny says, "for not describing what it expects to achieve."



JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

Afghanistan is a potential detonator in a volatile neighbourhood that includes nuclear-arms-aspiring Iran

turn to power." He linked strengthening democracy and human rights and reducing poverty in Afghanistan to making "the free world safe from the threat of terrorism." But given Afghanistan's deep poverty and ethnic divisions, how long should Canadians expect to go on sacrificing lives and spending many millions? Harper said only that "there are no quick fixes." At least one senior Canadian officer, though, has suggested a time frame. "Afghanistan is a 20-year venture," Lt.-Gen. Andrew Leslie declared last summer, arguing that Canada had to help free the country from the grip of "warlords and tribalism."

Leslie's words generated a few news stories, but should have commanded much more attention. His is a highly educated guess. He was decorated for service under fire in Bosnia, the closest experience Canadians have to the sort of tough nation-building Afghanistan needs. He also led Canadian forces based in Kabul in 2003, and was recently named head of our land forces. Hillier has also mused about at least a 10-year stay, although he didn't specify if he meant Canadian troops, perhaps meaning that more generally NATO or other outside forces would have to remain

Demanding that the government lay out a clear blueprint for extricating Canada from Afghanistan, though, may not be quite fair. This line of criticism is, in a sense, the parallel of the U.S. debate over an exit strategy for Iraq. But the situations are hardly the same. Canada is merely a substantial contributor to a NATO-led coalition in Afghanistan, not the dominant player calling the shots, as the U.S. clearly is—or aims to be—in Iraq. Thus, Canada can't realistically hope its policy will be the deciding factor in the outcome. At most, Canada's actions and arguments might help steel NATO's collective will to stay on—or start a rush to the exit doors.

In fact, Afghanistan is turning into a defining post-Cold War test of the alliance. Established 57 years ago to confront the Soviet threat, NATO has been tasked to fight a land war for the first time in Afghanistan. While the U.S. led the ousting of the Taliban, NATO has gradually taken on a bigger role, doubling its troop strength recently to 18,000 from roughly 9,000. The alliance now commands troops in Afghanistan's north, west and south, and is expected to take over from the U.S. in the east later this year. How long Canada will remain a core part of the NATO contingent, though, is unclear. On a recent visit to Ottawa, NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer suggested "other allies will step up and say 'we'll take over'" when Canada's current commitment runs out in 2009.

By then, Canada might well be ready for a break. Or perhaps Ottawa and the military will want to maintain a sizable presence—the price of that "seat at the table" coveted by Hillier. The Afghanistan experience has brought to the fore the possibility of serious NATO reform, aimed at making the alliance more flexible in deploying troops beyond Europe. Hillier has called for a "true and radical transformation" of NATO, as the 26 member countries prepare for a November summit in Riga, Latvia. Ranking with the British and Dutch as the most active NATO contributors in Afghanistan, aside from the separate U.S. force, could give Canada's voice unprecedented weight at that meeting. "For the first time since the end of the Cold War," says Huebert, "Canada is playing for real stakes."

Although the challenge in Afghanistan is often seen mainly in military terms, the development challenge might turn out to be at least as important. Senior Canadian officers, including Hillier and Fraser, stress the need to restore the country's war-ravaged economy. The notion in 2003 was that development, defence and diplomacy would be harnessed together as never before. The innovative new vehicle for this combined action was to be the provincial reconstruction teams, units from several countries that combined aid experts, foreign affairs specialists, and the troops that would keep them safe. But the PRTs have gotten at best mixed reviews—doubts that extend well beyond Canada's team in Kandahar. "We've had marginal success with our PRTs on the development side," according to Weinbaum, who says the dangers of doing development work in Afghanistan tend to turn the units into "Fort Apaches" where staff hunker down in heavily guarded compounds and don't interact enough with the people they are supposed to be helping.

ing it hard in the case of Afghanistan, refusing to provide his Senate committee with detailed reports on how its big budget is being spent. "Nothing CIDA has given my committee gives us any confidence," he says, "that aid is going through in a way that assures us that local Afghan people will associate guys with Canadian insignia on their shoulders with their lives improving."

A senior CIDA official defended the federal agency's work to date. But he also said CIDA is re-targeting its Afghan spending, partly to concentrate resources on Kandahar to back up the Canadian forces there. One interesting CIDA-funded project aims to find alternatives to illicit poppy growing. Feeling the heat, CIDA is also aiming to show Afghans immediate benefits. "We are taking an approach that some people call quick-impact projects," said the official, citing road-building



RAFIQ MAQBOOL/AP

A MOB-DAMAGED restaurant in Kabul, June 2006 (left), Afghan girls attend a Kabul school

But finding a way to push aid through to ordinary, impoverished Afghans is as important as pushing back the Taliban. Non-governmental aid workers are unable to work in the most violent parts of the country. CIDA pours much of Ottawa's $100-million a year Afghanistan development budget through the UN and World Bank to Afghan government agencies, arguing it doesn't need many Canadians on the ground (the lone CIDA staffer attached to the Kandahar PRT was slated to be joined by two more by this summer). Assessing how much good is being accomplished from half a world away is always difficult. Kenny complains that CIDA is making it hard in the case of Afghanistan, refusing to provide his Senate committee with detailed reports on how its big budget is being spent. "Nothing CIDA has given my committee gives us any confidence," he says, "that aid is going through in a way that assures us that local Afghan people will associate guys with Canadian insignia on their shoulders with their lives improving."

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How efficiently assistance can be turned into measurable progress in winning over Afghan hearts and minds is open to question. Richards, the British NATO commander, recently blamed corrupt local officials, unscrupulous private security firms, and clashes among foreign agencies for bringing the country "close to anarchy." The U.S. ambassador in Kabul, Ronald Neumann, has remarked that Afghanistan's problems stem more from its weak government than from any real insurgent strength. But even a nearly anarchic, weakly governed country can only improve when the baseline is so low—the UN ranks Afghanistan 173rd out of 178 countries in terms of development. Fuelled by billions in aid, the Afghan economy has been growing at 25 per cent a year since the Taliban fell.

But what's happening inside Afghanistan is only part of the story. Taliban fighters often operate from across the border in Pakistan's all-but-ungoverned tribal regions. Afghan President Hamid Karzai has claimed Pakistan isn't doing enough to crack down. Outside observers doubt the Taliban will lose its ability to run and regroup in those neighbouring Pashtun areas anytime soon. "I don't think there is going to be any appreciable change in Pakistan," says Weinbaum. Indeed, the old problem of those border regions is a key reason even some of those who plead Afghanistan's case most powerfully don't rule out the possibility that one day—like the Russians and the British—the U.S. and NATO will give up. "There's a legitimate question," says Dobbins, "as to whether a country as large, as fragmented, as backward, as porous, and as traditionally combative as Afghanistan, can effectively be controlled by anybody, including any Afghan regime."

Canada did not march into Afghanistan with a clear vision of the long, hard task at hand. Yet what started as a limited commitment after 9/11, and was renewed on a larger scale before the U.S. invasion of Iraq, has matured into Canada's calling card in a changing NATO. It is what engages Canadians most directly in the debate over how to contain Islam's most radical elements in a region that stretches from Iran to Algeria. And the latest terrorist arrests in Britain, which have been directly linked to Islamist groups in Pakistan, bring the menace uncomfortably close to home. Afghanistan is a potential detonator in a volatile neighbourhood that includes nuclear-armed Pakistan and India, and nuclear-arms aspiring Iran. "If Afghanistan goes, the whole region is in jeopardy. The Iranians will move in, the Pakistanis will move in," says Weinbaum. "I don't see any way the U.S. can get out of there."

Canadians may find consolation in thinking that the deaths of young soldiers add up to the price of continuing a proud history of helping out in the world. And so it is. But the duration of the NATO and U.S. stays in Afghanistan, and the pressure for Canada to keep sacrificing those lives and spending millions, may depend more on geopolitics than generosity. In the end, Canada might even stick it out in Afghanistan long enough for Canadians back home to gradually learn to understand the place a little—even if their politicians never do get around to making much effort to explain exactly what's going on. M

CANADA'S RAGTAG ARCTIC FORCES

Flying the flag and hunting for seals with the Canadian Rangers

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • Robert Dialla's sweat pants are stained and dirty and the insulation from his jacket threatens to spill out from a rip along the front. For four days, he's been living out of his 20-ft. aluminum fishing boat and camping on the rocky tundra. His uniform, a red hooded sweatshirt with a crossed rifle and axe emblem across the front, just covers his 240-lb. frame. (He used to weigh more and laments quitting sports when he had the first of his six children.) His Second World War-era .303 Lee Enfield rifle looks more like a museum piece than a killing machine, but Dialla knows how to use it—a freshly killed seal hanging off the side of his boat and missing the top half of its head is testament to his skill as a marksman.

This is the unlikely face of Canada's military in the high Arctic.

They are called the Canadian Rangers—a ragtag militia of Inuit men (and in recent years women too) who patrol the icy waters and tundra of Canada's northern reaches. On this trip, Dialla and 15 of his compatriots have been slowly picking their way through remote fjords and open seas, headed southeast from their home town of Pangnirtung, on Baffin Island, toward the Davis Strait. Since the beginning of the Cold War, patrols like this one have been on guard in the Arctic, looking out for interloping submarines and invading Russians. Their mission here: to fly the Canadian flag and assert sovereignty over remote inlets and ice-choked seas. Along the way they perform a few military drills, camp, and pick off the occasional seal for dinner.

The threat of invading armies seems far-fetched today, but lurking polar bears remain a very real concern. At night, Dialla's rifle lies loaded and ready next to him in his sturdy homemade canvas tent, heated by an always-burning Coleman stove. Earlier in the day, three bears were wandering around the Rangers' campsite in this remote fjord near the Arctic Circle. "They are the last thing you want to see," says Dialla, who in his soft, even voice describes near-fatal brushes with bears and four-day snowstorms. Two small dogs have been brought along to act as a polar bear warning system. "Good thing I brought my dog to protect the Rangers from polar bears," says the owner of one of the canines, Hezekiah Oshutapik. For others, a .303 seems preferable. "All your dog was doing was farting all night from the rations," replies Simeonie Keenainak, the rotund, 57-year-old sergeant of the patrol, as the group sets off across the water.





THE RANGERS TRAVEL IN RICKETY OLD FISHING BOATS, AND THEIR WEAPONS ARE WWII-ERA RIFLES

FROM A DISTANCE, the flotilla of Ranger boats looks almost formidable as it exits the Pangnirtung fjord, breaking through ocean swells and setting up tiny explosions of icy water. Up close, the boats are less imposing. The Rangers are the only arm of the military asked to use their own equipment—in this case, seven small wooden or aluminum fishing boats and one motorized canoe that looks particularly tippy in ocean waters.

Two days into the patrol, the Rangers hit a patch of heavy fog. Mathewsie Maniapik guides his old wooden 20-ft. Lake Winnipeg fishing boat into the Cumberland Sound and vanishes into the mist. One after the other, the Rangers follow, disappearing from sight. Fog is a constant challenge—like the chilly Arctic winds. A day earlier, the patrol had been forced off course by fierce winds just hours into its annual sovereignty patrol. Rather than risk the rising ocean swells, the Rangers made for the shelter of Kekerton Island, a windswept, abandoned 19th-century whaling camp now littered with graves and human bones. (Given the rocky surface, bodies were placed on the land in wooden barrels that have since rotted away.) "The old people always say, wait for the weather," says Keenainak the following morning as he steers his boat in Maniapik's wake. "And they're right."

While Keenainak's boat is the largest and most seaworthy of the bunch (with a small enclosed cockpit and radar), Maniapik's relic is the designated scout boat. The fact that Maniapik, a 56-year-old fisherman, has no GPS or radar on board might seem cause for concern (even without the fog, the northern landscape is an intimidating combination of rock, ice and open water). For the Rangers, it's comic relief. After hours cruising blindly through the fog, a crackle comes over the radio, as one of the Rangers quizzes, "Do you know where we're going?" Speaking in Inuktitut, another jokes, "I think we're almost near Greenland." Moments later, as if by some miracle of navigation, the boats break free from the fog in the same tidy line they left in, right on course and in sight of land. Asked how he guided the boats, Maniapik, a slight, aging man in oversized rubber boots, says by translator, "I use the direction of the waves and the sun."

Riding shotgun with Keenainak is Sgt. Stephen Ambrose, who oversees the Rangers on their five-day mission. The 35-year-old soldier has served in places like Bosnia, Afghanistan and Cyprus, and for the past two years he has travelled the North, training the Rangers in the ways of the southern military. Unlike the Rangers, in their mismatched ensembles of jeans, rubber boots or sneakers, Ambrose cuts an imposing figure in his army fatigues. A toothpick constantly circles around his mouth, just below a thick moustache. On the first day of the patrol, Ambrose quickly quashes a Ranger's plans to bring his young son along. "He's not serious, is he?" he asks. Yet Ambrose maintains a fragile authority over the Rangers, who show a loosely veiled indifference to the rigid ways of the military. On the final day of patrol, two Ranger boats drop from view in one of the fjords, likely distracted by a seal or bear. Ambrose orders Keenainak to hold up and wait for the others—a command the old Ranger shrugs off. "You guys worry too much. You're like my grandma," he says. On their previous patrol, another sergeant told Keenainak he would fire him if he swerved his boat off course one more time to search for seal. "I turned one more time. He didn't fire me," says Keenainak, who has a curious habit of shouting "Hallelujah!" in awkward moments of silence ("no more hallelujahs till we're out of this fog," the sergeant says on one occasion). Ambrose takes a patient approach. "Look, if something happens to them, I'll hang. And I don't want to hang," he pleads. Keenainak relents and slows.

Midway through the patrol, once camp has been established, the Rangers are granted a "traditional day" to hunt. All military pretense evaporates as they break off to scour nearby fjords for seal, walrus and whale. That night, Oshutapik, a 50-year-old fisherman, plumber and resident mechanic on this patrol, slides his knife down the belly of a small ring seal, brought back by the hunters. He begins peeling the skin away from the animal's thick layer of fat. When he cuts off the flippers the seal looks like a big, white blubbery football. The hide he'll sell later, back in Pangnirtung, about 100 km away. Then Oshutapik pulls the seal's chest cavity wide open and removes the intestines and innards. He slices down the rib cage until he has created a neat series of what look like baby back ribs. Around him, his fellow Rangers gather on the rocky shore of their campsite and begin cutting off morsels of bloody meat with their knives. Careful not to spill blood on their red uniform sweatshirts, they devour the meat until there's nothing left but a carcass of bone and fat. Military rations are left sitting in the Rangers' boats, mostly untouched. Ambrose also takes a few healthy bites. A career military man, he's developed a strong aversion to soupy military rations. Leopa Akpalialuk, one of the elder Rangers on this patrol, grins and wipes sweat from his brow. "This makes you real strong," he says in broken English.



SETTING CAMP. The Canadian military supplies rations, but Rangers prefer seal meat



FIRE DRILL. Target practice on the tundra

PHOTOGRAPHS BY COLIN CAMPBELL. SGT. FRANK HUDEC (TOP)

ACCORDING TO Ranger lore, some time ago a Ranger spotted a foreign submarine. When the Ranger called Ottawa to report the sighting, the military demurred at the notion and asked whether he wasn't just confusing a whale for a submarine. "Bullets don't bounce off whales," the Ranger replied. The story might seem apocryphal, but foreign vessels have been known to travel these waters without consent, and these northern channels could soon be seeing a lot more traffic. The earth's atmosphere is warming, the ice is thinner and breaking up earlier, and the water is warmer, says Peter Kilabuk, who when not patrolling with the Rangers is the Speaker of Nunavut's legislature. This kind of global warming is expected to open the Arctic's Northwest Passage, a potentially invaluable new shipping route. The trouble is, many countries, including the United States, don't recognize Canada's sovereignty over these waters.

To reinforce its fragile claims, the Conservative government has promised to build

FOR THE RECORD

HOW TO CROSS THE FLOOR WITHOUT GETTING UP

"Wajid's appointment is a slick, sick, calculated move on Harper's part. This is, pure and simple, a partisan effort aimed at halting the Conservatives' slide in the polls. Wajid should have known that he was playing into the hands of the Conservatives."—Toronto Liberal MP Maria Minna griping in an email to caucus members about Stephen Harper's appointment of Liberal Wajid Khan as a "special adviser" on the Middle East and Afghanistan

three armed icebreakers, a deep-water port, and a military training centre in the Arctic Large elaborate military drills have also been staged, including one this week dubbed Operation Lancaster Still, Canada's strongest claims to sovereignty rest on the Rangers, who have been patrolling the Arctic since the late 1940s "We go all around here," explains Keenainak "Even if it's not on patrol, we're hunting or fishing, and that's sovereignty too" Last month, Defence Minister Gordon O'Connor travelled to the Arctic and promised, among other things, more Ranger patrols There are now over 50 patrols in communities across the Arctic, each capped at 30 members, with waiting lists of Inuit hoping to join

That is part of the reason why Ambrose is here—not just to inspect the Rangers but to "familiarize" them with the more modern weaponry of the Canadian Forces For an afternoon, the Kumhen fjord, the site of the Rangers' temporary base camp, is alive with the crackling of gunfire On a makeshift firing range, the Rangers lie on their stomachs and fire their 303s at paper targets of a scowling enemy soldier (While the ancient .303 has been labelled inadequate by many military observers, it is beloved by the Rangers It doesn't jam in the cold, and is powerful enough to drop a polar bear with one shot) Ambrose concludes the day with a brief lesson in how to fire the army's C-7 automatic weapons He barks commands, ordering the Rangers not to fire all 30 rounds at once "Short bursts," he yells, as the Rangers eagerly line up with magazines to take their turn unloading one of the two C 7s, bullet casings flying and landing on the cold tundra

For a fleeting few hours, Ambrose has the Rangers armed to the teeth and looking almost like a fighting force For many of the Rangers, it's the highlight of the trip "It might be some of the best shooting I've ever seen on a Ranger patrol," says Ambrose "But that might be because it's not –30 " Everyone seems less inclined to take such drills seriously in frostbite-inducing cold, he explains Up here in the August sun, it's relatively balmy The temperature hovers around five degrees The sun sets for only a few short hours each night

On their final evening, after a feast of seal and char, the Rangers stand on the rocky shore smoking and laughing, sharing stories A lone gull swoops down and hovers in a gust of wind over their boats Akpalialuk picks up his 303, takes aim and fires, sending a thunderous crack echoing down the fjord He fires a second shot, and the bird hesitates, before pumping its wings against the Arctic wind. Finally a third blast The Rangers holler and whoop at this display Leopa grins If that were a seal, he would not have missed M

ANGER IN THE RANKS

Some Mounties want a union—and answers about Mayerthorpe

BY CHARLIE GILLIS • It's a question you'd hope any Mountie would ask by instinct what happened? But when Rob Creasser, an RCMP constable based in Kamloops, B C , directed it toward his bosses last month during a local radio broadcast, the brass wasted little time in slapping him down Within two weeks, he had been summoned to a superintendent's office and issued a gag order prohibiting him from commenting on RCMP matters "in any public forum" Creasser, 48, had raised the ire of his superiors by lamenting the force's silence over what happened outside Mayerthorpe, Alta., in March 2005, when four of its own were shot to death by a well-known troublemaker "I've gotten more off a media release than I have from my own organization," he told the station Then, to register his displeasure where it counts, he emailed a transcript of his remarks to RCMP commissioner Giuliano Zaccardelli

Creasser's actions were clearly meant to provoke But there's more going on here than a malcontent shooting off his mouth The 25-year RCMP veteran is part of an increasingly defiant group of officers aiming to overhaul the Mounties' top down management style, arguing officers need freer rein to voice opinions on discipline, staffing levels and workplace safety These so-called mounted police associations wish to overturn First World War era laws banning officers from commenting on the force's policies and preventing them from forming a union But in the RCMP, change never comes easy since their inception more than a decade ago, the separate associations in B C , Ontario and Quebec have signed up only a small fraction of their 18,000 colleagues, due to nervousness among career-conscious Mounties who equate criticism with disloyalty The RCMP command refuses to recognize them at all

Now, unanswered questions about Mayerthorpe may be giving the mavericks new life For months, rumours have circulated that understaffing, insufficient training or poor judgment by senior officers may have played a role in the tragedy—innuendo fuelled by the loss last month of two Mounties in Saskatchewan (Creasser acknowledged in his radio interview that it is too early to expect a report on that incident) The force's reluctance to explain the fatal shooting of a 22-year-old in custody in Houston, B C , has also raised the hackles of workaday officers, association members say; the constable involved, Paul Koester, has been under a cloud of suspicion since the investigation began last fall.

With Mayerthorpe and Houston as a backdrop, the associations in B.C. and Ontario filed a constitutional challenge last May over the validity of the 88-year-old law forbidding them from unionizing, and arguing that the RCMP Act and regulations violate their right to free speech. "I believe it would be good for the organization ... for internal employment and other issues to be opened for public discussion," says an affidavit filed by Creasser, vice-president of the B C Mounted Police Professional Association. If successful, the case would open the door to a labour-relations model similar to those in major cities, where police associations engage in collective bargaining—revolutionizing the way the RCMP relates to its officers



ZACCARDELLI and the brass are under fire

PHOTOGRAPH BY FRED CHARTRAND/CP

That, of course, would require the courts to overturn nearly a century of tradition—a move no judge will make lightly The force's rigid command structure dates back to its origins as a paramilitary organization, notes Dennis Forcese, a retired expert on policing issues from Carleton University, officers and the public alike are attached to it And senior officers deny the RCMP is as closed and unresponsive as critics claim While they declined to comment on the freedom-of-speech issue, Staff Sgt Ken Legge, a national executive on the RCMP's in-house staff relations program, said officers like Creasser could achieve their aims through the 34 representatives elected to communicate with management on workplace related issues "You have to wonder why a person wouldn't avail themselves of those opportunities," he said

The answer, of course, lies in their belief that an outright union would protect them better—and their apparently unshakable determination to show fellow officers why M

NORTEL I SECURITIES LITIGATION

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NOTICE OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENT

This Summary Notice is directed to all members of the Classes described below and is given pursuant to Rule 23 of the United States Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and various Canadian provincial class proceedings legislation The proposed Settlement is more fully described in the "Notice of Certification in Canada and Proposed Settlements of Class Actions, Motions for Legal Fees and Settlement Fairness Hearings (Nortel I Notice)" (the "Long-Form Notice") which is currently being mailed to known Class Members. If you have not yet received a copy of the Long-Form Notice you should request one from the Claims Administrator identified in the section below entitled "For More Information."

Briefly this Summary Notice advises you among other things, of a proposed settlement in the following class actions in the United States and Canada.

- *In Re Nortel Networks Corp. Securities Litigation*, Consolidated Civil Action No. 2001-CV-1855 (RMB) in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York ("New York Court") ("U.S. Action")
- *Frohlinger v Nortel Networks Corporation et al*, Court File No. 02-CL-4605 in the Ontario Superior Court of Justice ("Ontario Court") ("Ontario National Action")
- *Association de Protection des Épargnants et Investisseurs du Québec v Corporation Nortel Networks*, No. 500-06-000126-017 in the Superior Court of Quebec ("Quebec Court") ("Quebec Action"); and
- *Jaffery et al. v Nortel Networks Corporation et al*, Court File No. S015159 in the Supreme Court of British Columbia ("B.C. Court") ("B.C. Action")

The Ontario National Action the Quebec Action and the B.C. Action are collectively referred to as the "Canadian Nortel I Actions" The U.S. Action and the Canadian Nortel I Actions are collectively referred to as the "Nortel I Actions"

TERMS OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENT

The Settlement will provide total proceeds consisting of approximately $438,667,426 in cash, plus 314,333,875 shares of Nortel common stock for the benefit of members of the Classes. In addition Nortel will adopt certain corporate governance enhancements. The Settlement resolves lawsuits over whether Nortel misled investors about its historic and future earnings during the Class Period The Settlement is contingent on approval by the Courts in the Nortel I Actions and in certain related actions against Nortel in the United States and Canada (the "Nortel II Actions") for which there is a separate notice. The Settlement is further subject to certain regulatory approvals The Settlement constitutes a full and final resolution of claims and causes of action raised by members of the Classes in the Nortel I Actions and encompassed in the Settlement.

NOTICE OF CERTIFICATION OF CLASSES

The U S Action was certified in 2004 to proceed as a class action on behalf of persons and entities wherever located, who bought Nortel common stock or call options on Nortel common stock or who wrote (sold) put options on Nortel common stock during the period October 24 2000 through February 15 2001 inclusive, and suffered damages thereby including, but not limited to, those persons or entities who traded in Nortel Securities on the New York Stock Exchange and/or the Toronto Stock Exchange (the "U.S. Global Class")

The Canadian Nortel I Actions have now been certified for settlement purposes on behalf of Canadian Class Members. The Ontario Court the Quebec Court and the B.C. Court have certified the following classes for settlement purposes:

- Ontario National Class. All persons or entities, except members of the Quebec Class or British Columbia Class, who, while residing in Canada at the time, purchased Nortel common stock or call options on Nortel common stock, or wrote (sold) put options on Nortel common stock, during the period between October 24 2000 through February 15, 2001 inclusive
- Quebec Class: All "natural" persons, who, while residing in Quebec at the time purchased Nortel common stock or call options on Nortel common stock or wrote (sold) put options on Nortel common stock during the period between October 24 2000 through February 15 2001 inclusive.
- British Columbia Class: All persons or entities who, while residing in British Columbia at the time purchased Nortel common stock or call options on Nortel common stock, or wrote (sold) put options on Nortel common stock, during the period between October 24 2000 through February 15, 2001 inclusive

As described in detail in the Long-Form Notice, certain persons and entities are excluded from the above Classes

OPTING-OUT OF THE CLASS

If you are a member of any of the Classes you will be bound by the terms of the Settlement, if approved, and you will not be able to bring or maintain any other claim or legal proceedings against the defendants in connection with the allegations raised in the Nortel I Actions, unless you exclude yourself ("opt-out") If you are a member of any of the Classes and wish to exclude yourself from the Settlement you must make a request for exclusion in writing In order to be valid each such request for exclusion must set forth the name and address of the person or entity requesting exclusion, must expressly state that such person or entity requests exclusion from the Classes, and must be signed by such person or entity.
Requests for exclusion must be mailed to

Nortel I Securities Litigation Exclusions
c/o The Garden City Group, Inc., Claims Administrator
P.O. Box 9000 #6445
Merrick, NY 11566-9000

If you previously requested exclusion from the U.S. Global Class and are not a member of any of the Classes certified in the Canadian Actions then you are already excluded from the Settlement and may not receive any money or shares of Nortel common stock from the Settlement.

If you are a member of any of the Classes certified in the Canadian Actions and you previously requested exclusion from the U.S. Global Class in the U.S. Action then you may now either (i) submit a Proof of Claim form and be included in the Settlement or (ii) opt-out of the Classes certified in the Canadian Actions and be excluded from the Settlement. If you do nothing you will be included in the Classes certified in the Canadian Actions and be bound by the Settlement, but you will not receive any money or shares of Nortel common stock.

Requests for exclusion to be effective must be post-marked no later than **Tuesday September 19 2006** If you exclude yourself from the Classes you will not be bound by any judgment or other orders made in the Nortel I Actions, will not be able to participate in the Settlement and will retain any rights you may have as against the defendants Do not request exclusion if you wish to participate in the Settlement.

NOTICE OF SETTLEMENT FAIRNESS/APPROVAL HEARINGS

As noted in order for the Settlement to become effective, it must be approved by the New York Court, the Ontario Court the Quebec Court and the B.C. Court, each of which must be satisfied that the Settlement is fair reasonable, adequate and in the best interests of Class Members Dates for the Settlement Fairness/Approval Hearings have been scheduled with the respective courts as follows:

- in the U.S. Action, at **1:00 p.m. on the 28th day of October 2006** at the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, Daniel Patrick Moynihan United States Courthouse Courtroom 12A, 500 Pearl Street New York, NY
- in the Ontario National Action at **10:00 a.m. on the 6th day of November 2006**, at the Ontario Superior Court of Justice 361 University Avenue Toronto Ontario.
- in the Quebec Action at **9:30 a.m on the 15th day of November, 2006** at the Superior Court of Quebec, District of Montreal 1 Notre-Dame East Montreal Quebec
- in the British Columbia Action at **10:00 a.m. on the 27th day of November 2006** at the Supreme Court of British Columbia 800 Smithe Street Vancouver British Columbia

If you are a member of any of the Classes and you do not oppose the Settlement, you need not appear at the Settlement Fairness/Approval Hearings to indicate your approval If you are a member of any of the Classes and you wish to comment on or make an objection to the terms of the Settlement you should send your name, address and brief reasons for the objection to the appropriate court(s) as set forth in the Long-Form Notice prior to **Tuesday September 19th, 2006** You will be entitled to appear at the Settlement Fairness/Approval Hearings and be heard if you wish to do so.

At the Settlement Fairness Hearing, plaintiffs counsel will apply to the respective Courts for awards of legal fees and for reimbursement of expenses incurred in prosecuting the Nortel I Actions

PROOF OF CLAIM REQUIRED TO SHARE IN SETTLEMENT PROCEEDS

In order to receive any of the money or shares of Nortel common stock being made available through the Settlement you must submit a Proof of Claim form by **Monday November 20 2006** Proof of Claim forms may be obtained by contacting the Claims Administrator at the address shown below.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

If you have not yet received the full printed Long-Form Notice and Proof of Claim form, you may obtain copies of these documents by contacting the Claims Administrator As there will be no further notices sent directly to members of the Classes you should keep yourself apprised of all developments and updates by regularly contacting the Claims Administrator or by visiting:

Nortel I Securities Litigation Settlement
c/o The Garden City Group, Inc., Claims Administrator
PO Box 9000 #6446 Merrick NY 11566-9000
1 (866) 881 7495 toll free
www.nortelsecuritieslitigation.com

If there is a discrepancy between this Summary Notice and the Long-Form Notice, the latter prevails.

PLAINTIFFS' COUNSEL

For the U.S. Action Lead Plaintiff's Counsel George A Bauer III Milberg Weiss Bershad & Schulman LLP One Pennsylvania Plaza New York New York 10119-0165 or Murray Gold Kealke Minsky LLP 20 Queen Street West, Suite 900 Toronto, Ontario M5H 3R3 lessee relating to Milberg Weiss Bershad & Schulman LLP are described in the Long-Form Notice

For the Ontario National Action Ontario National Class Counsel: Joel P Rochon Rochon Genova LLP 121 Richmond Street West, Suite 900, Toronto, Ontario M5H 2K1

For the Quebec Action Quebec Class Counsel Daniel Belleau Belleau Lapointe, S.A. 306 Place D'Youville B-10 Montreal Quebec H2Y 2B6

For the British Columbia Action British Columbia Class Counsel David Klein Klein Lyons 1100 1333 West Broadway, Vancouver British Columbia V6H 4C1

This Summary Notice has been approved by the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, the Ontario Superior Court of Justice the Superior Court of Quebec and the Supreme Court of British Columbia.



IN THE PAST month, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert led Israel through its biggest crisis in decades and one of its longest wars ever

OLMERT'S NOT SO BRILLIANT CAREER?

The war's final casualties may well include the PM

BY MICHAEL PETROU • Ehud Olmert is a man who became prime minister, some Israelis say, by accident. He was never a very prominent figure in Israeli national politics until earlier this year, when he was made acting prime minister as a result of a stroke suffered by Ariel Sharon. He lead the Kadima party to victory in March elections, but as one Israeli put it: "People were voting for the Sharon legend while they were voting for Olmert. They weren't voting for Olmert himself."

But in the past month, Olmert has led Israel through its biggest crisis in decades and one of its longest wars ever. Unlike his predecessor Sharon, famous—and infamous—for a military past that dates to membership in paramilitary groups during the 1940s, and Ehud Barak, who once disguised himself as a woman to sneak into Beirut and gun down members of the PLO, Olmert has relatively little military experience.

This might have been a factor in his decision to respond with such force to the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers and rocket attacks against northern Israel by Hezbollah. Even Sharon, when faced with similar Hezbollah aggression, did less. But then Sharon never needed to demonstrate to Israelis that he was tough. Olmert did. And most Israelis approved of the initial results. "He's doing what he has to do," said Edgar Asis, 64, a vendor at Tel Aviv's bustling Carmel market, when he was interviewed by *Maclean's* in the war's final days. "We need to get rid of those bastards. They're terrorists, not human beings."

A few metres away, Yakov Tehrani, 68, shirtless and deeply tanned, stood splitting watermelons with a large knife. He paused and pointed to a nearby stand. "Look over there, by the guy selling cheese. A suicide bomber blew himself up right there two years ago. If it's not the rockets, it's suicide bombs. What country in the world would tolerate this?"

Vendors at the Carmel market are a hard bunch. (Years ago, a thief grabbed a woman's purse here and made a run for it. Several vendors chased him down, beat him senseless and then dumped him on the front steps of a nearby police station.) But in the nearby cafés, usually favoured by Tel Aviv's left wing crowd, the reaction to Olmert's handling of the Hezbollah crisis was identical. "He does whatever it takes to stop it," said Adi Frouman, 27. "I hope he won't stop. Even though we have a lot of political pressure from all over the world, he knows that the first thing that matters is our safety. He doesn't play games."

Arabs, who make up some 20 per cent of Israel's population, feel differently, especially in the politically charged streets of East Jerusalem, where photographs of Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah can now be found tucked into corners of restaurant mirrors. Ramadan Maswali, a middle-aged man, condemned both sides as "losers" and said the country needs peace. But Wahd Ghnem, 27, urged Hezbollah to kill all the Jews in Israel, and Mohammad Mustafa, 22, praised Hezbollah, even though its rockets killed many Israeli Arab civilians as well. "If an Arab is killed by Hezbollah, he's a *shahid* [martyr]. If Hezbollah sends a rocket here, it's no problem," he said. "They're trying to save the country."

But Israeli Arabs won't affect Olmert's political future. The fact remains that he launched a war with the almost universal backing of Israeli Jews. Other politicians would envy being in such a position—which makes it all the more remarkable that the Israeli prime minister has squandered it.

EHUD OLMERT'S problems are twofold. First, the war did not go as well as most of the country expected.

Israelis are used to conflict and have a large capacity for hardship. Indeed, being in Israel during a war is surreal. The cafes were packed. Tel Aviv's beaches were full of people splashing in the surf and playing sports—as Black Hawk helicopters buzzed overhead and Hezbollah rocket strikes crept ever southward. But Israelis also expect their wars to be swift and devastating. In the past, the country has simultaneously defeated several Arab national armies within days or weeks. This time, after more than a month, the Israel Defense Forces were unable to stop continued rocket attacks from a small militia. More than 200 rockets were fired into Israel on the final day before the ceasefire came into effect—proving that Hezbollah had not been militarily degraded, as promised. And the ceasefire brought neither Hezbollah's immediate disarmament, nor the return of the two Israeli soldiers whose kidnapping was the reason the conflict began.

Olmert can shift some blame for this onto military commanders, but they in turn can—and have—complained that Israeli politicians have held them back since the war began. The campaign began with air strikes, followed by pinpoint raids. A wider ground assault was temporarily delayed, allegedly because of U.S. pressure. "A military force always needs to be on the offensive, pushing forward and keeping the enemy on its toes," a senior IDF official told the *Jerusalem Post*. "When you sit still for too long, you turn into a target and you begin to get hit again and again."





SCENES FROM A CONFLICT: Israeli soldiers (from top) return from southern Lebanon, apply camouflage, and take up their position near the Lebanese border. Back home, meanwhile, beaches and cafés were full.

(TOP) ODED BALILTY/AP. (LEFT) DAVID GUTTENFELDER/AP. (RIGHT) DENIS SINYAKOV/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



PEDRO UGARTE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Olmert might also blame Sharon, who arguably allowed the Hezbollah threat to build up. But inevitably it is the PM who will bear the most responsibility for military disappointments. And now that the war has ended, opposition politicians can sense his weakness. After Olmert admitted to "shortcomings" in Israel's actions, Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu flatly stated Hezbollah would be back, saying that "what we have here is a lull, between this round and the next one."

Olmert's second major problem is more political. He campaigned heavily on the issue of evacuating Jewish settlements in much of the West Bank—land that Israel occupied after the 1967 war with neighbouring Arab states. Olmert vowed to "realign" Israel's borders by withdrawing from this land, with or without the co-operation of the Palestinians. His proposal built on the precedent set by Sharon, who pulled out of Gaza and had pledged to do the same in large parts of the West Bank.

The move was highly controversial. Today in Jerusalem it is common to see Jews wearing bright orange articles of clothing, symbolizing their opposition to any withdrawal, or "retreat" as they often describe it, from Gaza and the West Bank. Many wear buttons that proclaim, "We will not forget, and we will not forgive." But Olmert argued that Israel could not remain both Jewish and democratic if it continued to occupy Palestinian territories. Moreover, he said that withdrawing to stable borders would improve Israel's security. Enough Israelis agreed with Olmert to give him a mandate.

But, this summer, Israel was first attacked from Gaza, territory that it relinquished last year, and then from south Lebanon, from which it had withdrawn in 2000, after an 18-year occupation. Suddenly the idea that handing over more territory to the Palestinians would improve Israel's security lost credibility. "I think the problems began by withdrawing from Gaza without any concessions on the other side," said Hannah Benjamin, a 56-year-old merchant. "This is the Middle East. You don't give concessions without getting something. You don't give anything for free."

Many Israelis consider the West Bank settlers religious extremists who have caused Israel a lot of pointless trouble. But they also genuinely fear what giving up this territory would mean for the security of Israel. Rockets fired from Lebanon easily reached Haifa, some 50 km from the border. Similar attacks from the West Bank would hit Tel Aviv. "I believe the consensus about realignment has changed," said Yiftak Nativ, an Israeli Jew living north of Tel Aviv. "You give them territory, and they keep shooting at you."

Olmert might have accepted that views about disengagement had changed, and tried to define his politics in another way. Instead, he committed a colossal blunder. In an interview with Associated Press, he implied that the war in Lebanon would bolster his plans for pulling out of the West Bank. "I'll surprise you," he said. "I genuinely believe that the outcome of the present [war] and the emergence of a new order that will provide more stability and will defeat the forces of

'YOU DON'T SEND THEM TO DIE IN LEBANON IN ORDER TO EXPEL THEIR FAMILIES FROM THEIR HOMES'

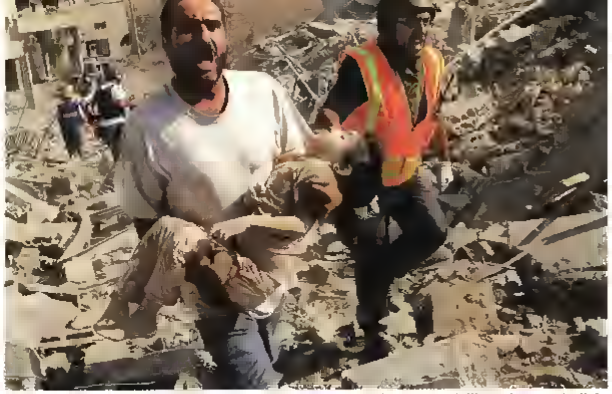
terror will help create the necessary environment that will allow me to create a new momentum between us and the Palestinians. We want to separate from the Palestinians. I'm ready to do it."

Israelis were furious. Soldiers who believed they were fighting to defend their country now wondered if they had in fact been enlisted to serve Olmert's political agenda. Some soldiers and officers from the settlements threatened to refuse military service. "It was damaging," said Aluf Benn, diplomatic correspondent for the newspaper *Haaretz*. "It showed first of all insensitivity to the fact that many of the commanders and soldiers, as well as those killed in action, were from the settlements. You don't send them to die in Lebanon in order to expel their families from their homes."

Olmert reversed himself, but the damage was done. And the irony, perhaps, is that his biggest error was one of timing rather than substance. "Olmert was right with his silly remarks," said Avi Bareli, a historian at Ben Gurion University of the Negev. "If the war is successful, it will be good news for disengagement. It will strengthen Olmert personally and prove that you can pull back to a recognized border and then attack again from that border if you are attacked." There are still Israelis who support this view. Erez Gil-Har, a young professional living in Tel Aviv, argued that Israel may well face missile attacks from an evacuated West Bank, "but then we'd have justification in front of the whole world, just like we do in Lebanon."

But the war did not end well for Israel. Hezbollah is claiming victory and Iran will continue supporting its puppet militia. It is also unlikely that the Lebanese army or United Nations soldiers, who are to be deployed in south Lebanon, will have the will or the ability to disarm Hezbollah or remove it from proximity to Israel's borders. And many Israelis don't trust the UN to begin with. Shachar Nativ, who served in the army in south Lebanon during the '90s, remembers being fired at by Lebanese militiamen who were sheltering behind UN convoys. His commanding officer and a close friend were killed. The UN did nothing. "They could call this peacekeeping," he said. "But there has never been an instance in 30 years when they stopped the Palestinians or Hezbollah from attacking us."

Even if the UN and Lebanese army succeed in bringing a semblance of peace to south Lebanon, if the ceasefire holds and Israel's latest confrontation with Hezbollah concludes, this was could have two final casualties. The first—at least in the short term—is Israel's planned withdrawal from the West Bank. The second may be the career of the prime minister himself. M



MOST MEDIA REPORTS have pointed out that Israel killed far more civilians than Hezbollah

DOUBLE STANDARD

Some Israelis wonder why they should fight by different rules

BY MICHAEL PETROU • Like every conflict involving Israel in recent decades, this current war was fought not just on the battlefield, but on television screens and in newspapers around the world. In this arena, military success or failure means little next to the question of which side is judged to have been the most "moral" in its prosecution of the war.

Israelis complain of a double standard. Most media reports correctly point out that Israel has killed far more civilians than Hezbollah. But Hezbollah's entire campaign of raining rockets on Israeli cities and towns was geared toward indiscriminate slaughter. That they killed comparatively few civilians is a question of result, not intent. The Israeli armed forces have killed hundreds of Lebanese civilians, but argue that their intent has been to hit military targets. They say that most of the resulting civilian deaths are due to Hezbollah's well-documented practice of hiding behind women and children.

It is the results, however, the photos of dead Lebanese children, which have such a profound effect on world opinion, and it is why Hezbollah has been so eager to show foreign journalists what Israeli air strikes have done, and why Israel is anxious to explain them. Some Israelis, though, resent the fact that explanations are considered necessary. "I don't trust our politicians," said Erez Attal, an Israeli Jew whose family emigrated from Tunisia. "The only thing that matters to them is to travel abroad with silk ties and show the world how well Jews behave. They are more worried about how we are perceived than the safety of the Jewish people. Instead of worrying about how Jews are perceived, we should tell the world that for every Jew killed we will kill 1,000 Arabs. We need to be strong."

Some former and current Israeli soldiers disagree. Shachar Nativ, who served in the Israeli army for more than four years, including in Lebanon, said Israel has an obligation to avoid killing civilians. "If not, we become as bad as them. We become as bad as the terrorists. It also harms the morale of our soldiers, and it nullifies the value of human life. And this is the greatest danger when you're in the military."

Israel's case is not helped by incompetent editors and journalists who covered the conflict. Reuters released a photo that had been doctored to make the effect of an Israeli air strike look worse than it really was (the freelancer was fired and his work purged from the agency's archives). Some of the photographs of rescue workers and dead children at Qana appear to have been posed for the benefit of photojournalists. And a *New York Times* online slide show contained an image of an apparently dead Lebanese man being pulled from the rubble after an air strike. He is seen alive and well in other photos (the paper subsequently published a correction).

An Israeli soldier might fairly ask why he should play by different rules than Hezbollah if much of the world's media have already decided to depict him as a war criminal. Erez Gil-Har, 35, an Israeli reservist, has an answer. "I don't give a damn what the Europeans think. I have my own standards." M

ON THE WEB: *For other* Maclean's *articles on tensions in the region, visit* www.macleans.ca/middleeast

NICOLAS ASFOURI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

'IT'S A GAME OF ONE-UPMANSHIP'

Al-Qaeda's inflated ambitions may actually protect us against terror

BY JONATHON GATEHOUSE • Haruki Ikegami met his end in a particularly gruesome way. In December 1994, the 24-year-old Japanese businessman got an unlucky seat on a flight between the Philippines and Tokyo, one that had been occupied by Ramzi Yousef, an al Qaeda explosives expert, on an earlier leg of the journey. When the crude bomb—a small contact lens solution bottle full of nitroglycerine attached to a nine-volt battery, a light bulb filament and a digital watch—that had been left beneath the chair went off, the blast tore Ikegami in two. It also cut a large hole in the cabin floor, severing the cables that controlled the Boeing 747's flaps, forcing the pilot to make an emergency landing. The miracle was that no one else died, then or later. Yousef's bomb was a fraction as powerful as the ones he and his fellow terrorists were planning to use to bring as many as 11 aircraft down over the Pacific in early 1995. (The scheme unravelled after the Manila apartment where the plotters were mixing their explosives caught fire.)



THE SHEER SCALE OF THIS LATEST PLOT MADE IT RELATIVELY EASY TO DETECT



THE SCENE AT London's Heathrow, earlier plotters Mohammed (right) and Yousef

Last week's revelations that 24 British men were allegedly planning to blow up at least 10 planes over the Atlantic Ocean by similar methods could hardly have come as a total shock to governments, airlines and intelligence services. Yousef has been in jail for close to a decade. His fellow plotter and uncle, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the mastermind of the Sept. 11 attacks, has been singing like a canary since he was captured in Pakistan in 2003. Not that one could tell from the chaotic scenes in airports around the world and the ever-growing list of things—beverages, hand sanitizers, toothpaste, gel insoles, cheese in pressurized containers—that passengers are no longer able to carry aboard flights. The panic is real. But the question is whether it's justified, or at all useful.

As 9/11 proved, in the wrong hands almost anything can be used as a weapon. And the global air travel system—monstrously complex with tens of thousands of access points and millions of passengers—is particularly vulnerable. Trying to counter all the ways terrorists could strike—surgically inserting explosives into their bodies was one possibility raised in the Irish press last week—is a losing proposition, says Mark Salter, an expert in aviation security at the University of Ottawa. "I don't think we want to chase our own nightmares. We'd only end up restricting our freedom of mobility so much that we wouldn't be able to travel anywhere." Salter says the agencies charged with screening passengers and luggage, like the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority (CATSA), have done a decent job since Sept. 11. At some point, everyone involved—governments, airlines and passengers—will have to come to grips with the fact that there is no such thing as risk free flying. "When you reach the limits of the system's capacity to prevent attacks, I think you have to start telling the public how to protect themselves," says Salter.

But have all the reasonable precautions already been taken? Douglas Laird, a former security director for Northwest Airlines who now runs his own consulting firm, says aviation authorities, especially south of the border, have been too slow to adapt to terrorists' changing methods. There are technologies that will screen baggage for liquid explosives, he says, but their high cost has slowed their deployment. (According to testimony before the U.S. Senate, the Transport Security Administration has been diverting more than half of its $110-million annual R&D budget to pay salaries for airport screeners.) Laird also advocates the use of body scanners—low dose X-ray machines that see through clothing, revealing in great detail what's hidden beneath—a technology many passengers find intrusive. "Right now, in the worst-case scenario, a woman can put the liquid in her brassiere and there's no way to find it."

Judging by the latest alleged plot, however, our single greatest protection may be the inflated ambitions of al Qaeda and its sympathizers. The sheer scale of the latest plan made it relatively easy for British authorities to detect, notes Ian Cuthbertson, director of the counterterrorism program at New York's World Policy Institute. "Al-Qaeda in its next attack has to top 9/11. It has to kill more people, it has to be more spectacular. Otherwise, it doesn't look like they are making progress," he says. "It's a terrible game of one upmanship." But the obsession with airplanes won't last forever, as events in Madrid, Bali and London have already proven. And if terror groups ever turn their sights to Wal-Marts, McDonald's and Starbucks, there is little standing in their way. "We're getting smarter," says Cuthbertson, "but so are they." M

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: DANIEL BEREHULAK/GETTY IMAGES; AP; AP

When big brother is finally gone

Just who is Raúl Castro, and how will he rule Cuba after Fidel?

BY ISABEL VINCENT • Analysts who specialize in reading Cuba's political tea leaves were not surprised earlier this month when Communist leader Fidel Castro announced from his hospital bed that he was temporarily ceding power to his brother Raul after undergoing gastrointestinal surgery. Details of Fidel's recovery remained a guarded state secret. "Mentally speaking he is, for a person that has just gone through surgery, very alive in spirit, and alert, even to take care of making certain decisions," allowed Ricardo Alarcon, president of Cuba's National Assembly, in a rather cryptic interview with National Public Radio earlier this month. But in an Aug. 13 message to the Cuban people, Castro himself acknowledged that his recovery would be long, and possibly unsuccessful. And one thing does appear to be certain: if Castro dies, his shadowy younger brother will continue to rule.

The signs for Raul's succession have all been in place since the 1959 revolution when Fidel Castro announced in no uncertain terms that he had designated his younger brother, chief of the military and the de facto vice-president of the Communist island, his heir to office. More recently, Fidel reiterated his plans for his brother at a Communist Party Congress in October 1997. "Raúl is younger than I, more energetic," said Fidel. "He can count on much more time."

Then, last June, a long profile of the 75-year-old grandfather of eight appeared in the Communist daily *Granma*. The article, widely seen as an attempt by Fidel to prepare the Cuban people for their next leader, praised Raul, calling him "the chief, the leader, the comrade, the man who has brought in great affection and instruction across the decades." But just who is Raul Castro, and how will he prop up an anachronistic authoritarian system that relies to a large extent on the cult of personality of his charismatic older brother? The answer lies, to some extent, in Raul's comportment in his official roles over the last four decades—as defence minister and, as he is officially known, the first vice-president of the Council of State and vice-secretary of the Politburo and Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The fourth, fifth or sixth child—reports vary—of a Spanish landowner, Angel Castro y Argiz, Raul Castro was born in 1931. His mother, Lina Ruz, was a housekeeper in the Castro household. While he does not seem to share his elder brother's passion for scholarship and discipline, Raul emerged as a revolutionary hero in his own right, and an able behind-the-scenes leader. Raul's accomplishments and influence have been largely overshadowed by the stronger personality of his brother. But it was Raul who introduced his brother to Marxism-Leninism, after being inspired by the ideology at a 1953 Communist youth conference in Vienna. Later, when they were in exile in Mexico City, Raul introduced Fidel to the Argentine guerrilla leader Ernesto "Che" Guevara.



THOSE WERE THE DAYS The younger Castro with Guevara at a revolutionary celebration

LEE LOCKWOOD/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

IT WAS RAÚL WHO INTRODUCED FIDEL TO MARXISM. HE ALSO INTRODUCED HIM TO CHE GUEVARA.

For years, Raul fought alongside his brother to overthrow the corrupt regime of Cuban strongman Fulgencio Batista. He was jailed with Fidel after the 1953 attack on the Moncada military barracks. After spending 22 months behind bars, both were freed in a 1955 government amnesty, and headed to Mexico to plan their revolutionary strategy. When they returned, Fidel led his fabled campaign with Guevara in the Sierra Maestra, while Raul quietly built up a strong rebel contingent in the Sierra Cristal mountain range.

As defence minister, Raul defended the Bay of Pigs from a disastrous U.S. invasion in 1961. Later, he successfully defended Cuban airspace from regular incursions by Cuban exiles based in Miami. In the more than four decades that he has headed up the now 50,000-strong armed forces, only one senior officer defected. Raul also mounted complex military campaigns in Angola and Ethiopia during the 1970s.

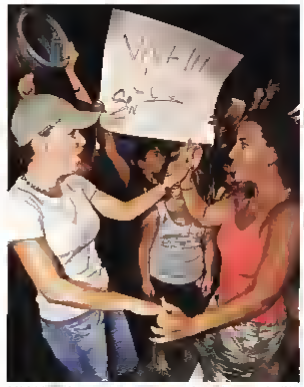
In the early years of the Cuban revolution, Raúl, who flunked out of his elite Jesuit high school and battled alcoholism and gambling in his youth, quickly developed a reputation for ruthlessness. When the victorious Fidel marched into Havana on Jan. 1, 1959, Raul was kept out of the limelight, say some of Fidel's biographers, because he was seen as too hardline. One of his first acts as defence minister was to order the executions of 100 Batista military officers. Analysts say he has been the driving force behind the persecution of homosexuals and dissidents. (He seems to have mellowed in recent years, allowing his daughter to run a support group for transsexuals.)

Yet despite his tough reputation, Raul is credited with some of the island's most progressive changes. He was responsible for Cuba's greater economic opening after the 1989 collapse of the Berlin Wall. At that time, Cuba lost all of its much-needed subsidies from Russia, and plunged into economic chaos. Raúl spearheaded programs that allowed foreign investment in tourism and mining. He also set about putting army recruits in charge of military run farms and sent senior officers to European business schools to learn management skills.

Raul has often referred to the Chinese experience in managing free market reforms (without allowing for more democratic openness) as a model for Cuba. He convinced Fidel to allow Cubans to use the U.S. dollar as de facto currency, and began to support private enterprise on the island, such as farmers' markets and family run restaurants (all measures that have been in the process of being dismantled by Fidel, who is much more doctrinaire on economic policy). And the military under Raul has shown itself to be adaptable to change. Through Gaviota SA, a resort management corporation operated by the armed forces, the military now controls 60 per cent of the tourism industry—the island's most important source of foreign revenue.

Unlike his brother, who loves to engage in long, formal policy speeches and regale foreign dignitaries with his esoteric knowledge of everything from agrarian reform to stud bulls, Raúl seems much more of a hands-on ruler. He often leads neighbourhood community meetings. He is also a family man, who reportedly dotes on his grandchildren. He has four children with his wife, Vilma Espin, a guerrilla leader and MIT graduate in chemistry whom he met during the revolution. Today, Espin is the most important feminist leader on the island.

DESPITE HIS TOUGH REPUTATION, RAÚL IS CREDITED WITH SOME OF CUBA'S PROGRESSIVE CHANGES



MIAMI Is happy over news that Castro is ill

Anti-Castro extremists in Miami are hoping that a power vacuum will emerge if Fidel doesn't return to office, and that many of the U.S.-financed dissident groups on the island will lead Cubans in an insurrection that will eventually result in a return to democracy. "There is now an opportunity for brave men and women who want to take Cuba in another direction to take advantage of that opportunity," said Jorge Mas Santos, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, a U.S. lobby group of Cuban exiles.

Although it is impossible to predict how the country will react to the death of its long-ruling dictator, many analysts believe Raul is already assembling the country's most important politicians, known for their proximity to Fidel, to help him rule. Last June, Raúl himself indicated that collective leadership would likely dominate in a post-Fidel Cuba. Those in the inner circle are Felipe Pérez Roque, the charismatic 41-year-old foreign minister known for his hardline policies, Alarcón, 69, and Carlos Lage, a 54-year-old pediatrician widely credited with shaping the Cuban economy.

Any ruling collective would likely be propped up by Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, for whom Fidel has been a role model and ideological supporter. Following a series of hurricanes and drought in Cuba in the last few years, Chávez stepped into the funding vacuum left by the Soviet Union's collapse. Last year, Venezuela provided Cuba with more than US$1 billion in subsidized oil, and imported $500 million in Cuban goods and services, which included medical equipment and work done in Venezuela by Cuban physicians. With Chavez, who has access to some US$30 billion in annual oil revenues, propping up the revolution, analysts are predicting it might just take a long time for things to change in Cuba, with or without Fidel. M

ROBERTO SCHMIDT/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

THE ISSUE IN...

OHIO: PRAISE THE LORD, AND THE SAVINGS

Officials in Bellaire, Ohio, have forbidden the Power of Prayer Ministry church to sell furniture. Although they gave the church a zoning variance to open as a place of worship, it's also been a place of bargains. The church says it gives proceeds to the poor, but village solicitor Michael Shaheen doubts the building is being used as a church. "There are four churches in the area, but they do not have an open garage door advertising specials on sofas."

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IS 'MISTER 50 CENTS' RUNNING OUT OF TIME?

After four years, CEO Michael Sabia is still trying to fix Bell Canada

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • Earlier this month, Bell Canada announced yet another round of lacklustre quarterly results. Profits were down, the company said, and it was continuing to bleed traditional phone customers—several hundred thousand of them in the past few years. While the results were unimpressive, they were also predictable. For four years, Michael Sabia, CEO of Bell and its parent company BCE Inc., has been battling to transform a slow moving former monopoly into a modern telecommunications company, but the results have been frustrating. Now questions are arising as to just how much time Sabia has left to turn the ship around.

After four years of trying to restructure and refocus Bell Canada, Sabia's time appears to be running short. The changes he has made at Bell since 2002 may well have saved the company, but the incumbent is still being outperformed by smaller rivals in key areas like wireless, say analysts. "People are impatient with Sabia," says one. "People are waiting for him to leave and George Cope is obviously seen as the successor."

If shareholders and analysts are getting antsy with Sabia and his failure to deliver a quick fix, they are also sympathetic. Sabia joined Bell Canada in 2002, taking over a company that might have best been described as an already half-sunk battleship. Under his predecessor, Jean Monty, Bell had embarked on the now-discredited strategy of convergence—buying properties like television network CTV Inc., online commerce company Emergis Inc., and a piece of the *Globe and Mail*. Sabia was charged with dismantling all that and refocusing the company on its "core business" of telecommunications. "His first major problem was the financial basket case he was left with," says Eamon Hoey, a telecom consultant and senior partner with Hoey Associates. "It created a huge hangover for almost his entire period." Sabia moved to get rid of BCE's bolt-on companies Yellow Pages, Teleglobe, CGI, and more recently the majority of its stake in Bell Globemedia. "It would be tough for anyone to do anything else but what he has been doing," says Greg Eckel, senior vice-president at investment management firm Morgan Meighen & Associates.

One might have expected that all those asset sales and spinoffs might have reignited enthusiasm for the stock. But it has done virtually nothing. When Sabia took over from Monty on April 24, 2002, the stock was at $27.55 per share. Today it hovers around the same range, about $26.50 a share, earning Sabia the nickname "Mr. 50 Cents" among many analysts and investors on Bay Street.

One of the reasons for this lack of growth, analysts say, is that the industry is transforming much faster than most expected, and faster than a big old company like Bell can easily cope with. Bell has suddenly had to contend with cable companies offering telephone service through the Internet (a technology called VoIP, or voice-over-Internet protocol). "It's a changed environment," says Eckel. "At a time when they're coming back to their core business, their core business is all of a sudden under attack." In November, Dominion Bond Rating Service downgraded Bell Canada's rating largely because of its ongoing loss of customers to cable companies. Last year, Bell lost 324,000 traditional phone customers. This year, it is on pace to lose as many as 400,000. For the past three years, those losses have been accelerating. "We're managing the erosion of our traditional business better," said Sabia, after the company announced its second-quarter results this month. Bell may be coping with erosion, but the loss of customers is still very costly and undermines efforts to build a base for future growth, analysts warn.

By merely maturing the company's stock price at a base level, Sabia has been running hard to stand still. On top of its declining traditional phone service, Bell's wireless division trails rivals like Rogers and Telus. Last week, Vidéotron, which has already made big inroads in Quebec with its VoIP service, launched a wireless service that will run on the rival Rogers network. Bell's satellite TV service ExpressVu has done well, but there too, cable companies offering enhanced digital service and high definition signals are beginning to regain lost ground.

Bell has also made a few costly stumbles, say analysts. Most noteworthy was in 2004, with its quickly aborted plan offering 1,000 minutes of long distance for $5 in Ontario and Quebec. The plan had the effect of pushing down prices in advance of competing VoIP service, in a sense, Bell started its own price war before the real threat had even arrived. Pricing has also caused problems with regulator CRTC, which has prevented Bell from lowering prices to compete with cable rivals like Vidéotron. Finally, Bell ran into difficulty changing its customer service system in 2004. Some customers went months without a bill, then received one for hundreds of dollars and refused to pay. Customers were alienated, and some charges had to be waived. As a result, Sabia declined his bonus that year and has since made customer service a top priority.

All this has put added pressure on Bell to slash costs (as much as $2 billion by the end of 2007), and jobs (as many as 4,000 jobs this year), while also converting more of its network to newer, cheaper VoIP technology. These moves have been welcomed by analysts, but have failed to budge the stock price or create a lasting sense of optimism about Bell's future. "Are we seeing a slow decline of the company or are we seeing the renewal of the company? I think the jury is still out," says Hoey.

In a recent letter to shareholders, the company said that "building a new Bell won't happen overnight," and the transformation would continue through to 2009. Sabia may not have that kind of time, say some analysts. Cope, they note, did not leave Telus (a company with a seemingly bright future) to wallow in the COO position at Bell forever. "Even the best poker player could not be expected to win every game with that hand," says one analyst about Sabia's tenure at Bell. "But George Cope is a much better player. That will manifest itself." The voices of discontent haven't started openly calling for Sabia's ouster yet, but with Cope comfortably settling in to the CEO-in-waiting position, and his close colleague from Telus, Wade Oosterman, also joining Bell recently as president of Bell Mobility, it appears at least some of the leadership mantle has already been passed. M

BELL LOST 324,000 PHONE CUSTOMERS TO INTERNET-BASED RIVALS IN 2005



SABIA has slashed costs and sold off billions in assets, but the stock has languished

NORM BETTS/BLOOMBERG NEWS/LANDOV

UP IN SMOKE

A German entrepreneur restores glamour—and cigarettes—to air travel

BY CAMERON AINSWORTH VINCZE • Alexander Schoppmann loved flying across Europe during the '60s as a teenager to visit his jet setting parents in Rome, Paris and London. The experience of soaring above the clouds and being served scrumptious meals by beautiful stewardesses while sitting in comfortable, spacious seats was a thrill for the native of Dusseldorf, Germany. "The whole bloody plane was a party. It was great," says the 55-year-old former investment banker. But Schoppmann has become less and less enchanted with the airline industry. "I've seen first-class service go down and the prices go up," he says. Then came the biggest blow: during the 1990s, smoking bans were implemented on flights throughout Europe and North America.

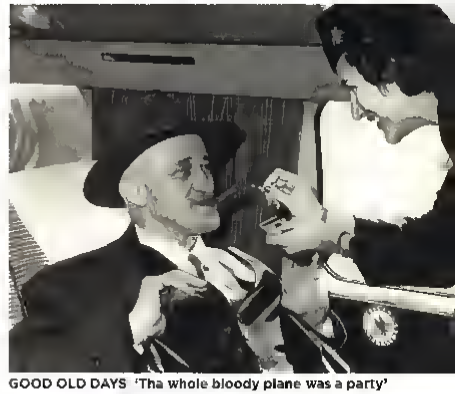
ON SMINTAIR, PASSENGERS CAN PURCHASE CIGARETTES OR CIGARS AND SMOKE ANYWHERE THEY LIKE

Now Schoppmann, a smoker of 40 years, is fighting back with the launch of his own airline—Smoker's International Airways, or Smintair. Scheduled to begin daily service between Dusseldorf and Tokyo's Narita airport in March 2007, the airline will combine luxury air travel with smoking on two leased Boeing 747s. (Schoppmann chose his hometown as it is close to major European centres, every flight also stops in Shanghai.) Smoking will be permitted in all 138 seats—108 of which are in business class and 30 in first class—and each plane will have a lounge on the upper deck, complete with a bar, duty-free shop and sofas where passengers can relax, mingle and puff away the hours. "We want to bring back the joy of flying and make the plane more of a happening," says Schoppmann.

Most Boeing 747s seat upwards of 400 to 500 people, so Smintair is undertaking a massive revamp of both planes, decreasing the number of seats to focus on comfort and personal amenities. Each seat will be a fully functional recreation centre and business office equipped with Internet access, a 15-inch TV and an entertainment database containing 200 movies and 20,000 MP3 songs—"everything from Mozart to P. Diddy," says Schoppmann. It will also have legroom like it's going out of style: 5.8 feet in business class and 6.7 feet in first class. Passengers will be able to select from a variety of cuisines, including French, Italian, Chinese and Japanese, though Smintair is not a restaurant. "There will be no a la carte on these flights," says Schoppmann. For an after-dinner treat, passengers can purchase various brands of cigars, cigarettes and cigarillos to smoke anywhere they please.

The International Air Transport Association (IATA), which represents 265 airlines that comprise 94 per cent of international air traffic, says it's up to individual airlines and governments to impose smoking bans. German law doesn't ban in-flight smoking, and Schoppmann isn't worried about a backlash. "If regulators try to convince politicians to stop smoking on planes, we won't give a damn because the captain of a ship or plane is the one who says what is happening on the plane," he says.

The joys of flying Smintair, says Schoppmann, don't cost that much extra. That depends on what financial class you hail from. Flights begin at $9,300 return for business class and $14,350 for first class. Smintair hopes to eventually expand its fleet and fly to North America, South Africa and Middle Eastern destinations such as Oman and the United Arab Emirates "because there are a lot of smokers there," says Schoppmann. M



GOOD OLD DAYS 'The whole bloody plane was a party'

BETTMANN/CORBIS

A business case for fighting AIDS


STEVE MAICH

Most economists aren't terribly interested in delving into the nitty-gritty of the human condition. They generally prefer to hover in a low orbit, translating massive trends into neat mathematical equations—safe and bloodless and usually pretty dull.

So, last week, when TD Economics released a report entitled *The Economic Cost of AIDS: A Clear Case For Action*, you couldn't help but take notice, for the source as much as the subject matter. But TD isn't your typical big bank, and the timing of the report was no coincidence. TD is a main sponsor of the mammoth International AIDS Conference taking place this week in Toronto.

Laudable though the report is, however, it's unlikely to find much of an audience among the bank's usual clients on Bay Street. And that's too bad, because if the suits bothered to crack it, they'd find a compelling argument for immediate and drastic action to fight AIDS—not just because it's morally right, but for reasons that any hard-nosed businessman can appreciate. Because, over the long term, the costs of inaction far outweigh the costs of eradicating the disease. "Pay now, or pay a LOT more later," the TD report says.

A few interesting facts that help put the problem in perspective: spending on HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment in the developing world amounts to about US$8 billion a year. By way of comparison, the U.S. spends $173 billion domestically each year to fight the disease at home. About 4.1 million people were newly infected last year, 89 per cent of them in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. As of 2005, only about 10 to 20 per cent of people in low and middle-income countries who need antiretroviral drugs were receiving them. So, while rich countries have slowed the spread of AIDS to a crawl and vastly improved the lives of patients, the disease continues to tear a wide swath through the rest of the world.

The World Bank and other agencies have long stuck to the estimate that AIDS trims as much as one percentage point off of economic growth in the developing world each year—which suggests the disease costs the economies of sub-Saharan Africa about US$6 billion a year. But TD senior economist Beata Caranci, one of the contributors to the report, says that estimate massively underestimates the true toll because it fails to take into account the devastating ripple effect of losing millions of individuals from the labour force every year, and doesn't address massive "informal economies" (black markets and barter trade) common in the Third World.

It's hard to put a dollar figure on the damage, but AIDS is clearly more than just a persistent drag on the economy, as has long been assumed. For example, over the past 30 years, Africa has gone from being a substantial agricultural exporter to a net importer of food. The region can literally no longer feed itself, and AIDS is a major reason why. In the words of the TD report, "in many poorer nations, AIDS threatens to destroy their economic, social and political fabric."

The TD report's bottom line? Inaction costs far more than eradicating the disease.

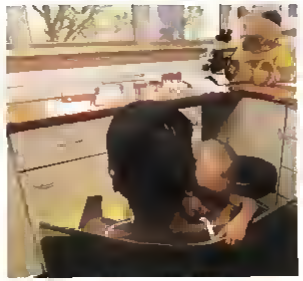
So what to do? TD falls back on the same prescriptions we've been hearing for years: a clearer understanding of the problem, and more spending, particularly in the areas of education and prevention. That's all fine, but any field worker can tell you progress on such education campaigns is maddeningly slow.

Health activists usually demand that governments bust patent protections, grab the drug formulas that took many years and millions of dollars to develop by private investors, and churn out generic copies. In other words, screw the drug companies. But doing so would not only offend the whole notion of intellectual property rights, it would kill the incentive for further research into newer and better AIDS drugs. Moreover, there's no need to raid the drug makers in order to fight AIDS.

As you may have read in the last issue of *Maclean's*, a group of influential doctors including Dr. Julio Montaner, head of the B.C. Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS, is calling on world governments to underwrite a massive effort to get affordable drugs into the hands of all the world's HIV patients—not only to prolong lives and ease suffering, but because antiviral treatment dramatically reduces the chances of further transmission. For years we've been told this is simply unaffordable, but in July of this year the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved a new once a day AIDS drug called Atripla, which will be sold in the developing world for about US$50 a month.

That implies that the 31.4 million AIDS patients in the world's poorest nations could be supplied with drugs at a cost of less than US$20 billion a year. It sounds like a lot of money until you consider that such an effort could make it possible to eradicate AIDS entirely, within our children's lifetime, simply by making the virus more difficult to transmit. Of course, there would be education, administration and distribution costs, plus other drugs needed to fight infections. But the business case is clear once you take into account the long-term health savings and the benefits of helping turn failed states into contributing members of the world economy, rather than breeding grounds of desperation and resentment. As the TD report says, "rather than seeing this as humanitarian aid driven only by altruistic motives [governments] should see it for what it is: a necessary investment in the future economic well being and security of the industrialized world."

Even economists can't stand back and view AIDS from a safe distance anymore. It is *our* problem, and it's bigger than we think. We have the tools and the money to solve it. All we need now is the will. M


AIDS KILLED 2.8 million people in 2005

JEROME DELAY/AP



QUICK THINKING MEANS CUSTOMER RETENTION

Alfred Rahmsdorff, 75, got out of his truck to drop off his garbage at Automated Waste Disposal in Danbury, Conn., but left the vehicle in gear. It knocked him over and kept travelling backwards in a circle, menacing the fallen Rahmsdorff. Employee Chris Pacheco ran alongside, climbed in and brought the truck to a halt. Rahmsdorff is recovering. "My first thought was, stop this truck so it doesn't hit him again," Pacheco says. "He's one of my regular customers."


AT HIS FAMILY'S SUMMER PLACE, Kevin Schneider contracted blastomycosis. Never heard of it, you say? It can kill you if it isn't treated.

PHOTOGRAPH BY THOMAS FRICKE

THE NIGHTMARE AT THE COTTAGE

How do you fight a disease when so few doctors know about it?

BY JAKE MACDONALD • A lot of boys would envy Kevin Schneider. A freckle-nosed and fearless 13-year old, Kevin lives on the edge of a beautiful lake near Minaki, in northwestern Ontario. He plays paintball in the woods with his buddies, races his sailboat and goes fishing at his family's wilderness outpost camp, travelling there with his father in their trusty Piper float plane. "I love living in Minaki," he says. "You can swim when ever you want, and you can do stuff you're not allowed to do in the city. Like I bought an [old, beat-up] Jeep with my own money and I drive it up and down our bush road."

But living in the woods of northwestern Ontario can have its risks. Last May, Kevin was on his way home from school when his chest began aching. When his parents took him to emergency, the doctors diagnosed the problem as inflammation of the rib cartilage—ordinary growing pains treatable with Tylenol. But the pains persisted, for days and then weeks, and tests showed nothing. When lab results finally revealed traces of a streptococcal infection, his family doctor put him on penicillin, but that didn't help, nor did other antibiotics designed for fighting pneumonia. By mid July, with Kevin going downhill, losing weight and experiencing so much pain he was having trouble getting to sleep, his mother, Jane Campbell, asked that specialists be called in, and when Kenora pediatrician Dr. Peter Harland saw Kevin, things began happening quickly. "He ordered tests, like right now, and said, 'Don't go away, because I need to talk to you as soon as we get the results.'"

'ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS CRAWL UNDER THE NEAREST COTTAGE TO FIND GOOD GROWING CONDITIONS'

This time, X-rays showed that Kevin's right lung was full of fluid, a serious and possibly life-threatening development. Harland ordered a round of heavy antibiotics. Kevin's mother's voice still shakes with controlled emotion when she relates what happened next. "Dr. Harland said we had to consider the possibility that Kevin had blastomycosis."

Blastomycosis is such a rare disease that many doctors—even diagnostic hotshots from big-city emergency rooms—may never have heard of it. But in the Lake of the Woods region, "blasto" has grown into a bogeyman that threatens to take at least some of the joy out of gardening, tree planting and boyish adventuring in the woods. A fungus called *Blastomyces dermatitidis* thrives in the acidic soil, and its spores, when inhaled, can thrive in the dark, moist interior of the human body, where they produce a yeast infection that can kill the victim if left untreated. "Blastomycosis can be found over much of North America," says Lyle Wiebe, environmental health program manager at the Northwestern Health Unit in Kenora. "Manitoba gets a few cases every year, and Timmins, Thunder Bay and Georgian Bay have all had small outbreaks. But the Lake of the Woods region has the dubious distinction of being the global hot spot."

During a seven-year period in the 1980s, the entire province of Ontario reported only 16 cases of blastomycosis. But in the last five years, the relatively small Kenora district (pop. 85,000) has racked up 30 to 50 cases per year. Wiebe says it's a challenge to fight an outbreak when health professionals know so little about the organism and its environment. "We've been studying it for seven years, but it's tricky to build assumptions on such a small body of information. We know we're getting more cases, but why? Are more people using the outdoors? Are we catching cases we might have missed before? What kinds of exposures are hazardous? We're chasing the answers, but it's going to take a lot of time, research and shoe-leather detective work."

Blastomycosis is a formidable foe. The fungus, which looks like white mould, grows in damp places, in woodpiles and rotting stumps. Rainy seasons may produce ideal conditions for the fungus, but Wiebe says people to take precautions when working in places where they might encounter the fungus." Embil recommends wearing a dust mask, gloves, boots and coveralls when working in the woods, digging holes, gardening, cleaning up old woodpiles or working underneath buildings. "I ask people to use common sense. It's not a good idea to be inhaling any kind of airborne dust."

The spores, once inhaled, may lodge inside the human body for up to 120 days before producing symptoms like sharp chest pain, night sweats and loss of appetite. To complicate matters, blastomycosis can easily be mistaken for pneumonia, tuberculosis and even lung cancer. In Kevin Schneider's case, his doctors were initially deceived because the disease was hiding in his lung pleura—the lining between the lungs and chest wall. His pediatrician sent him to Winnipeg's Health Sciences Centre, where surgeons drained his lung, took a biopsy and confirmed blastomycosis. His medical team put him on a six-month regime of a pricey drug called itraconazole, and now he's fully recovered.

'BLASTO IS FOUND ALL OVER NORTH AMERICA, BUT LAKE OF THE WOODS IS THE GLOBAL HOT SPOT'

Embil, who is widely regarded as the world expert on blastomycosis, says that Kevin Schneider was probably fortunate to have wound up in the Winnipeg hospital. "Front-line health professionals in this part of the country are becoming quite skilled at diagnosing and treating this disease. But it's less well-known elsewhere."

Even with increasing awareness among doctors, one study indicated that only 18 per cent of blastomycosis victims were correctly diagnosed by front-line medical personnel. The most worrisome scenario features tourists visiting the Lake of the Woods region, inhaling *dermatitidis* spores, and going home to Los Angeles or Vancouver or some other large city where the average doctor couldn't even spell blastomycosis, let alone diagnose it. Says Lyle Wiebe, "We may be dealing with a lot more cases than we know about."

Blastomyces dermatitidis doesn't do well in competition with other fungi, so dry years may in fact work in its favour. "In any case, we have no shortage of damp, acidic soil in the Kenora district. All you have to do is crawl under the nearest cottage to find good growing conditions."

In the summer of 2004, an 11-year-old boy from Winnipeg, plus his dog, contracted blastomycosis after doing some cleanup under his family's Kenora-area cottage. Veterinarians diagnosed the dog, which lost an eye, but months passed before medical specialists diagnosed the boy. By then, the infection had eaten away part of his skull. He survived, but had to undergo reconstructive bone surgery. In other cases, parents haven't been diagnosed until they reached the autopsy table.

Dr. John Embil of the Winnipeg Health Sciences Centre says he is ambivalent about publicizing the outbreak. "On the one hand, northwestern Ontario is a beautiful part of the world. This is a rare disease and I don't want to diminish anyone's enjoyment of the outdoors. On the other hand, I encourage

SAVE HARRY!

Harry Potter fans are traumatized by hints he may be killed off

BY PATRICIA TREBLE • For what it's worth—and nerve-racked Harry Potter fans seem willing to bask in any ray of hope—Emerson Spartz refuses to buy the doom and gloom surrounding the future of the world's most famous fictional wizard. "There's a zero per cent chance that Harry is going to die," prophesies the founder of *MuggleNet.com*. Spartz, of course, doesn't know any more than any one else, but he's sure that author J.K. Rowling wouldn't have plotted her series around a "kid whose life sucks and then he dies."

But for every optimist there's a worrier. Melissa Anelli, webmaster for the Leaky Cauldron site, "knows in my heart that he will live," but still has a terrible fear that Rowling will do the unthinkable. "If anyone can pull [Harry's death] off, she can." Anelli isn't alone: earlier this month John Irving—no fan of happy endings in his own novels—confessed his "fingers are crossed for Harry," while horror maestro Stephen King urged Rowling to be "fair" to her hero because he doesn't "want him to go over the Reichenbach Falls" like Sherlock Holmes.

For the seventh, final and still untitled Harry Potter book, anxiety started rising on June 26, when the ultra-private Rowling appeared on the popular British literary TV show *Richard & Judy*. She stunned a spellbound audience of children by revealing that the final chapter—written long ago—had recently "changed very slightly: one character got a reprieve, but two die that I didn't intend to die." Significant characters? "We are dealing with pure evil. So they don't target the extras, do they? They go straight for the main characters—or I do." Then the bombshell about Harry. "I can completely understand the mentality of an author who thinks, 'I'm going to kill him off because after I'm dead and gone they won't be able to bring back the character.'"

Fans are on edge because Rowling has a history of terrible but accurate hints. Prior to the 2005 release of *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*, the Scottish author warned that a major character would die, and she delivered. Tears dampened tens of millions of books when Severus Snape killed beloved Hogwarts headmaster Albus Dumbledore with the "Avada Kedavra" curse. So within hours of her British appearance, fan websites were dissecting video clips and transcripts with a zeal normally reserved for analysts parsing central bank economic comments—would she really kill Harry? If two characters whom she'd previously expected to fans desperate for the latest serialized chapter of *The Old Curiosity Shop* greeted arriving British ships with the question, "Is Little Nell dead?" (She was.) When Rowling, King and Irving held charity readings in New York City earlier this month, she responded to a shouted "Don't kill Harry" with "Oh, no pressure then." Despite this, Nel, who teaches a sold-out "Harry Potter's Library"

IF TEARS FLOW, ONE PARENT SAYS SHE WILL DISCUSS J.K. ROWLING'S DECISION WITH HER TWO KIDS



'HARRY POTTER MUST DIE' was the headline in a British paper after unsettling J.K. Rowling remarks

live were doomed—and she described that as a slight change—just how many die in total? In no time, the media jumped on her words. "Harry Potter must die," screamed a *Guardian* headline.

That so many people are so concerned about a character in a novel still being written—and unlikely to be published until perhaps, as some have speculated, 7/7/07—reveals that this isn't just any book. It's the finale of a series that has sold more than 300 million copies worldwide (even though some critics have panned the books as wordy and poorly edited). The novels have persuaded millions of kids to dive into a magical world of Blast-Ended Skrewts, Quidditch, Horcruxes and a teenaged orphan named Harry Potter who has repeatedly confronted Voldemort, the darkest wizard of his time and the man who killed his parents.

Philip Nel, an English professor at Kansas State University, likens the fuss to that which befell a Dickens classic. In 1841, American course, believes Rowling is unlikely to be influenced by fans or marketers because she has plotted the entire series down to the smallest detail. Having to annually re-read the series for his course helps Nel understand why it's so popular—Rowling's detailed magical world is full of characters that people find themselves emotionally connected to, such as Neville Longbottom, bullied throughout his childhood by his domineering grandmother.

With no publication date in site, anything Harry related becomes news. Warner Bros. announced *The Half-Blood Prince* will be in theatres on Nov. 21, 2008—once they find a director, sign up the cast and start filming. Scholastic, Rowling's American publisher, released a study showing that half of young Harry Potter readers didn't read for fun before cracking open the books. Online bookseller *Abebooks.com* joined the act, with a survey showing that one in five avid readers expect a leak to spoil the ending of book seven. And on July 1, adult fans descended on Las Vegas for Lumos 2006: A Harry Potter Symposium, forsaking casinos for lectures such as "Of Dementors, Dark Lords and Depression: A Study of Mental Illness in Harry Potter" (Next year's conference will be in Toronto.)

For most Potter fans, though, with Rowling again silent, all they can do is fret and speculate. Rereading the series for clues—do the mysterious initials "R.A.B." refer to Sirius Black's brother Regulus, and why does everyone say Harry has his mother's eyes?—keeps devotees occupied, at least for a while. Websites such as the Leaky Cauldron and *MuggleNet.com*, usually quiet in a year with no new books or movies, are finding their visitor stats climbing as Harry addicts come to absorb fan-written articles such as "The Mystery of the Stupefied Death Eater," or add to the seemingly endless list of loose ends everyone expects Rowling to finally tidy up.

Whenever the opus is published, Jasper, Ont., teacher and Potter fan Brenda Wiltsie-Brown will crack it open at the same time as her two children, Ellen, 14, and Aden, 17. All intend to savour the last Harry Potter novel, vowing not to flip to the end. Wiltsie-Brown isn't too worried that her kids, both avid readers, will be upset by the plot. But if tears flow, she'll wait until everyone has finished the book and then, emphasizing it's a work of fiction, discuss Rowling's decisions. As for anyone who leaks plot details? Aden is pushing for jail time. M

PHOTOGRAPH BY HAMIN LEE

TONICS

HOPE FOR THE INTELLECTUALLY CHALLENGED

German scientists are testing a pill to improve short-term memory and attentiveness. The Max-Planck Institute for Molecular Genetics has so far tested the pill on mice. Scientists say it may show promise for improving the minds of humans. Nicknamed the "anti-stupidity pill," it inhibits hyperactivity in brain cells that limit memory and attention span. You probably know someone who needs a prescription.

STOP THE PRESSES!

SPEEDY MIGRAINE RELIEF OF THE WRONG KIND

The *New York Times* mistakenly informed sufferers of the blinding headaches on the kind of drugs used to treat them: "The personal health column in Science Times on Tuesday about treatments and prevention of migraines misidentified a drug sometimes used for headache relief with medications like a triptan or an opiate. It is acetaminophen, not amphetamine."—Jane Brody's "Personal Health" column, Aug. 8

Still waiting for the great leap backward

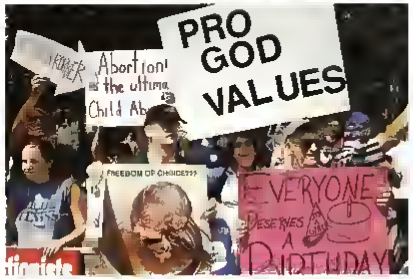
A U.S. evangelical aims to steer his faith back to its progressive roots

BY BRIAN BETHUNE • Perhaps the most important effect of Randall Balmer's eye-opening *Thy Kingdom Come. An Evangelical's Lament* will be to inform the outside world that people like him actually exist. So seemingly total is the identification of U.S. evangelicals with right wing politics and the Republican party, that for many people the very idea of a *liberal* evangelical is an oxymoron. But not only do Balmer and his ilk still flourish in the U.S., they have a long history of championing progressive causes. Baptists and other evangelicals—persecuted Old World minorities grateful for America's level playing field—were at the leading edge of struggles ranging from the separation of church and state to the abolition of slavery.

PROMINENT BAPTIST LEADERS, HE WRITES, ASKED CONGRESS TO LOOSEN ABORTION LAWS IN 1971

So it's to history that Balmer, 51, a professor of American religion at Columbia University and a self-described "jilted lover," looks for the answers to what happened to American evangelicalism. "We basically ran out of steam at the end of the 19th century," Balmer says in an interview. The challenges of modernity, especially Darwinism, drove evangelicalism into an increasingly fundamentalist "defensive subculture." Then came the U.S. Supreme Court's striking down of abortion laws in *Roe vs. Wade* in 1973, which had a galvanizing effect on America's militantly anti-abortion evangelical population. Or so the story goes.





RELIGIOUS BELIEF Inspired abolitionist John Brown's 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry—and a 2004 anti-abortion rally

Balmer explodes what he calls the "abortion myth." In 1971, he tells us, the Southern Baptist Convention passed a resolution asking Congress to *loosen* abortion restrictions. In the wake of *Roe vs. Wade*, W. C. Criswell, perhaps the most influential Baptist preacher in the country, expressed his satisfaction with the decision. What actually mobilized conservative evangelicals to form the religious right, as Balmer calls it, was the U.S. government's 1975 move to rescind the tax-exempt status of Bob Jones University. Aimed at the school's racially discriminatory policies, it was seen by many evangelicals as an all-out assault on their institutions. This ancient history matters, Balmer argues. Through ceaseless mythmaking, the religious right has convinced many evangelicals that their churches have always been uncompromising on abortion, and that they must support the Republican party, even if they are opposed to its other policies, like the war in Iraq.

It's also one of the many un-Christian ironies Balmer mines to full effect in his book. Religious-right stalwarts like to style themselves the heirs of 19th-century anti-slavery activists in their campaign for the unborn. Balmer enjoys pointing out "that the 'new abolitionists' got their start defending racial segregation." Likewise, his comment on the cry of one protester—"Get your hands off my God!"—when the granite block bearing the Ten Commandments was removed from the lobby of the Alabama state judicial building. "If I'm not mistaken, one of those Commandments warns against graven images."

It is Balmer's evangelical response to the religious right that is most intriguing, rather than his rather mainstream liberalism. He fears his opponents less because they espouse policies he considers wrong-headed, than because of the damage done to his faith. "The First Amendment is the greatest friend religion ever had in this country," he says. "The genius of American religion is its open marketplace, its religious entrepreneurs competing against each other without either aid or hindrance from the state. It's why America is the most religious country in the Western world." The religious right's political agenda threatens to corrupt Christianity from within and spark hostility from without, he believes, "because it refuses to accept the basic etiquette of democracy—it wants its religion endorsed by the state."

The religious right will vigorously deny it, Balmer says, but its ultimate aim is a revived Puritan state. "At some point you have to apply the duck test: if it walks like one, talks like one—if they want prayers in public school, the Ten Commandments in courthouses, laws that 'reflect biblical teaching,' what else can you call it but a theocracy?"

Balmer's hope, which he admits is more willed than truly optimistic, is that liberal evangelicals can offer their fellows "another way, respectful of their traditions and the teachings of Jesus—which are far more concerned with justice for the poor than the fact that human life is sacred." Maybe then, the jilted but still smitten lover believes, evangelicals will recall their history and realize that "religion flourishes best from the margins, and not from the corridors of power." M



HOLY WATER LESS CELESTIAL, MORE MUNICIPAL

When water began to spout from a statua of the late Pope John Paul II, residents in his home town of Wadowice, Poland, passed word of a miracle. Pilgrims arrived with bottles to take home the treasured liquid. But it fell to Wadowice Mayor Eva Filipiak to deflate beliefs: the town council had installed a water pipe beneath the statue. "We didn't mean anything by it," she said, "it was just supposed to make the statue look prettier."

KEAN COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES (TOP); AL GRESPO/SIPA PRESS

NORTEL II SECURITIES LITIGATION

SUMMARY NOTICE OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENT, CERTIFICATION OF CANADIAN ACTIONS, MOTIONS FOR LEGAL FEES AND SETTLEMENT FAIRNESS HEARINGS

THIS NOTICE MAY AFFECT YOUR RIGHTS PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TO ALL PERSONS OR ENTITIES WHO PURCHASED NORTEL NETWORKS CORPORATION ('NORTEL') COMMON STOCK OR CALL OPTIONS ON NORTEL COMMON STOCK OR WROTE (SOLD) PUT OPTIONS ON NORTEL COMMON STOCK (COLLECTIVELY 'NORTEL SECURITIES') DURING THE PERIOD APRIL 24 2003 THROUGH APRIL 27 2004 (THE 'CLASS PERIOD') INCLUSIVE INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO THOSE PERSONS WHO TRADED IN NORTEL SECURITIES ON THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE AND/OR THE TORONTO STOCK EXCHANGE

NOTICE OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENT

This Summary Notice is directed to all members of the Classes described below and is given pursuant to Rule 23 of the United States Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and various Canadian provincial class proceedings legislation. The proposed Settlement is more fully described in the 'Notice of Pendency and Certification of Class Actions and Proposed Settlements, Motions for Attorneys Fees and Settlement Fairness Hearings (Nortel II Notice)' (the 'Long-Form Notice') which is currently being mailed to known Class Members. If you have not yet received a copy of the Long Form Notice you should request one from the Claims Administrator identified in the section below entitled 'For More Information.'

Briefly, this Summary Notice advises you, among other things, of a proposed settlement in the following class actions in the United States and Canada.

- *In Re Nortel Networks Corp. Securities Litigation* Master File No. 04 Civ. 2115 (LAP) in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York ('New York Court') ('U.S. Action').
- *Gallerdi v. Nortel Networks Corporation* No. 05-CV-285606CP in the Ontario Superior Court of Justice ('Ontario Court') ('Ontario National Action').
- *Skarstedt v. Corporation Nortel Networks*, No. 500-06-000277-059 in the Superior Court of Quebec District of Montreal ('Quebec Court') ('Quebec Action').

The Ontario National Action and the Quebec Action are collectively referred to as the 'Canadian Nortel II Actions'. The U.S. Action and the Canadian Nortel II Actions are collectively referred to as the 'Nortel II Actions'.

TERMS OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENT

The Settlement will provide total proceeds consisting of approximately $370,157,418 in cash, plus 314,333,875 shares of Nortel common stock for the benefit of members of the Classes. In addition, Nortel will adopt certain corporate governance enhancements. The Settlement resolves lawsuits over whether Nortel misled investors about its historic and future earnings during the Class Period. The Settlement is contingent on approval by the Courts in the Nortel II Actions and in certain related actions against Nortel in the United States and Canada (the 'Nortel I Actions') for which there is a separate notice. The Settlement is further subject to certain regulatory approvals. The Settlement constitutes a full and final resolution of claims and causes of action raised by members of the Classes in the Nortel II Actions and encompassed in the Settlement.

NOTICE OF CERTIFICATION OF CLASSES

The U.S. Action was certified for purposes of the Settlement to proceed as a class action on behalf of persons and entities wherever located, who bought Nortel common stock or call options on Nortel common stock or who wrote (sold) put options on Nortel common stock during the period April 24, 2003 through April 27, 2004, inclusive, and suffered damages thereby, including but not limited to, those persons or entities who traded in Nortel Securities on the New York Stock Exchange and/or the Toronto Stock Exchange (the 'U.S. Global Class').

The Canadian Nortel II Actions have also been certified for settlement purposes on behalf of Canadian Class Members. The Ontario Court and the Quebec Court have certified the following classes for settlement purposes.

- Ontario National Class: All persons or entities except members of the Quebec Class, who while residing in Canada at the time, purchased Nortel common stock or call options on Nortel common stock, or wrote (sold) put options on Nortel common stock, during the period between April 24, 2003 through April 27, 2004, inclusive.
- Quebec Class: All persons or entities the latter having less than 50 persons who while residing in Quebec at the time, purchased Nortel common stock or call options on Nortel common stock, or wrote (sold) put options on Nortel common stock, during the period between April 24, 2003 through April 27, 2004, inclusive.

As described in detail in the Long-Form Notice, certain persons and entities are excluded from the above Classes.

OPTING-OUT OF THE CLASS

If you are a member of any of the Classes you will be bound by the terms of the Settlement, if approved, and you will not be able to bring or maintain any other claim or legal proceedings against the defendants in connection with the allegations raised in the Nortel II Actions, unless you exclude yourself ('opt-out'). If you are a member of any of the Classes and wish to exclude yourself from the Settlement, you must make a request for exclusion in writing. In order to be valid, each such request for exclusion must set forth the name and address of the person or entity requesting exclusion, must expressly state that such person or entity requests exclusion from the Classes and must be signed by such person or entity. Requests for exclusion must be mailed to:

Nortel II Securities Litigation Exclusions
c/o The Garden City Group, Inc.
Claims Administrator
PO Box 9083
Dublin, OH 43017-0983

Requests for exclusion, to be effective, must be postmarked no later than **Tuesday, September 19, 2006**. If you exclude yourself from the Classes you will not be bound by any judgment or other orders made in the Nortel II Actions, will not be able to participate in the Settlement, and will retain any rights you may have as against the defendants. Do not request exclusion if you wish to participate in the Settlement.

NOTICE OF SETTLEMENT FAIRNESS/APPROVAL HEARINGS

As noted, in order for the Settlement to become effective, it must be approved by the New York Court, the Ontario Court and the Quebec Court, each of which must be satisfied that the Settlement is fair, reasonable, adequate and in the best interests of Class Members. Dates for the Settlement Fairness/Approval Hearings have been scheduled with the respective courts as follows:

- In the U.S. Action, at **1:00 p.m. on the 26th day of October, 2006**, at the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, Daniel Patrick Moynihan United States Courthouse, Courtroom 12A, 500 Pearl Street, New York, NY.
- In the Ontario National Action, at **10:00 a.m. on the 6th day of November, 2006**, at the Ontario Superior Court of Justice, 361 University Avenue, Toronto, Ontario.
- In the Quebec Action, at **9:30 a.m. on the 16th day of November, 2006**, at the Superior Court of Quebec, District of Montreal, 1 Notre-Dame East, Montreal, Quebec.

If you are a member of any of the Classes and you do not oppose the Settlement, you need not appear at the Settlement Fairness/Approval Hearings to indicate your approval. If you are a member of any of the Classes and you wish to comment on or make an objection to the terms of the Settlement, you should send your name, address and brief reasons for the objection to the appropriate court(s), as set forth in the Long-Form Notice, prior to **Tuesday, September 19, 2006**. You will be entitled to appear at the Settlement Fairness/Approval Hearings and be heard if you wish to do so.

At the Settlement Fairness Hearing, plaintiffs' counsel will apply to the respective Courts for awards of legal fees and for reimbursement of expenses incurred in prosecuting the Nortel II Actions.

PROOF OF CLAIM REQUIRED TO SHARE IN SETTLEMENT PROCEEDS

In order to receive any of the money or shares of Nortel common stock being made available through the Settlement, you must submit a Proof of Claim form by **Monday, November 20, 2006**. Proof of Claim forms may be obtained by contacting the Claims Administrator at the address shown below.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

If you have not yet received the full printed Long-Form Notice and Proof of Claim form, you may obtain copies of these documents by contacting the Claims Administrator. As there will be no further notices sent directly to members of the Classes, you should keep yourself apprised of all developments and updates by regularly contacting the Claims Administrator or by visiting:

Nortel II Securities Litigation Settlement
c/o The Garden City Group, Inc., Claims Administrator
PO Box 9082, Dublin, OH 43017-0982
1(866)881-7495
www.nortelsecuritieslitigation.com

If there is a discrepancy between this Summary Notice and the Long-Form Notice, the latter prevails.

PLAINTIFFS' COUNSEL

For the U.S. Action: Lead Plaintiff's Counsel: Jeffrey N. Leibell, Bernstein Litowitz Berger & Grossmann LLP, 1285 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019.

For the Ontario National Action: Ontario National Class Counsel: Joel P. Rochon, Rochon Genova LLP, 121 Richmond Street West, Suite 900, Toronto, Ontario M5H 2K1.

For the Quebec Action: Quebec Class Counsel: Philippe H. Trudel, Trudel & Johnston, 85 be la Commune East, 3rd Floor, Montreal, Quebec H2Y 1J1.

This Summary Notice has been approved by the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, the Ontario Superior Court of Justice and the Superior Court of Quebec.

'WE'RE NOT CENTRE-LEFT, WE'RE NOT CENTRE-RIGHT, WE'RE CENTRE-SIRLOIN'—VENEZUELAN COMEDIAN BENJAMÍN RAUSSEO, WHO WILL CHALLENGE HUGO CHÁVEZ AT THE POLLS IN DECEMBER

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD

WHO'S INTOXICATED WITH POWER?

Ever wonder what Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is thinking? Well, wonder no more. Just surf over to *www.ahmadinejad.ir*, the president's newly launched blog. You can send questions to Ahmadinejad, browse his picture gallery, even participate in an online poll. The blog, announced on state TV last week, only has one entry so far—a 2,000-word (in English) autobiography, also available in Persian, Arabic and French. In it, Ahmadinejad boasts of his academic achievements, calls **Saddam Hussein** an "aggressor" who was "intoxicated with power," and describes the United States as "Great Satan U.S.A." It's a shocking move for the president of a country that uses sophisticated technology to censor the Internet—critics say it may be a publicity stunt.

SÉGOLÈNE ROYAL AND NICOLAS SARKOZY

FRENCH POLITICS TAKE A PLUNGE



Officially, **Ségolène Royal** was furious at the invasion of her privacy after pictures of her, strolling on a beach clad in a turquoise bikini, appeared in French magazines. But few buy her indignation, especially since the flattering photos were accompanied with comments like, "Who would guess that this willowy woman is 53 and has four children?" Definitely not amused were some of her fellow Socialists, who believe the glamorous, popular former environment minister and front-runner for her party's leadership is a political lightweight.

Royal will likely face Interior Minister **Nicolas Sarkozy**, 51, in France's next presidential election—and he's got tabloid issues of his own. A series of "unauthorized" happy Sarkozy family snaps turned up in celebrity magazines after *Paris Match* put a pic of his wife, **Cécilia**, and her close male friend on its cover. *Quelle coïncidence*.

PAUL TRACY

DROPPING THE RACING GLOVES—AND HELMETS

Paul Tracy may have been channelling **Will Ferrell**'s goofball movie hero Ricky Bobby last weekend when the Canadian racing star got into an on-track shoving match—his second in three weeks—at the Grand Prix in Denver. The hotheaded Tracy, who became the youngest Canadian Formula Ford Champion in 1985, had already been fined and placed on probation on July 30 at the Grand Prix in San Jose after recklessly slamming into fellow Canadian driver **Alex Tagliani**, prompting a fist fight on the tarmac.



Last weekend, Tracy was having fuel trouble when he crashed into French driver (and series champ) **Sebastien Bourdais** during the final lap of the Champ Car World Series event, forcing both drivers out of the race. Bourdais, who had been trying to pass Tracy, confronted the unapologetic 37-year-old on the track and the childish scuffle ensued.

INDRA NOOYI

THE COLA WAR GETS STIRRED UP



PepsiCo shocked Wall Street this week when it announced that **Indra Nooyi** would be moving into the cola company's corner office. By breaking through the glass ceiling, the Indian-born, Yale-educated executive, who takes over the CEO job in October, joins a very select club—of the *Fortune* 500's largest industrial companies, only 12 have female chief executives. The 50-year-old, who has been with Pepsi for 12 years, became the company's finance chief in 2001. Since then, the company's stock has gained more than 40 per cent (during the same period, the Coca-Cola company has seen its stock slip by five per cent). When *Forbes* named her the 28th most powerful woman in America last year, Nooyi said: "Being a woman, being foreign born, you've got to be smarter than anyone else."

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: AP, AP, GETTY, AP, AP

JOHN HOWARD

SEEKING ASYLUM FROM PARTY REVOLT

Fearing certain defeat in the Senate, Australian Prime Minister **John Howard**, 67, ditched a tough new immigration law this week that would have forced asylum seekers arriving by boat to be sent to detention camps on the island state of Nauru and Manus Island in Papua New Guinea while their claims were processed. Although it passed in the lower house, where Howard's government holds a solid majority, several government senators threatened to vote against it in the Senate, where Howard's Liberal Party of Australia only has a one-seat majority. Many considered the legislation as a way to appease Indonesia, which is protesting Australia's decision to grant protection visas to 42 Papuan separatists who accuse the Indonesian government of human rights violations. The internal revolt was the largest parliamentary defeat in Howard's 10 years in office.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: REUTERS, AP, REUTERS, CP

BENJAMÍN RAUSSEO

TURNING DEMOCRACY INTO A JOKE

Benjamin Rausseo is a comedian, television personality, and multi-millionaire theme park owner in his native Venezuela. Now he wants to be president. It's an idea that first struck political observers as a joke, but recent straw polls show Rausseo emerging as one of the leading contenders in advance of the December elections. While opposition to president **Hugo Chávez** remains fractured and weak, Rausseo, like Chávez, is a populist with considerable appeal in Venezuela. He was an orphan who worked as a shoeshine boy, then taxi driver, before discovering comedy. Rausseo, 45, says he decided to make a serious run for president after surviving a plane crash last year. At the heart of his platform is foreign policy—criticizing Chávez's aggressive leftist stance in Latin America. But where does Rausseo's party fit on the political spectrum? He says, in his jokey manner: "We're not centre-left, we're not centre-right, we're centre-sirloin."

MARGARET THATCHER

WILL THE IRON LADY GET A ROYAL SEND-OFF?



Margaret Thatcher is in fairly good health for an 80-year-old. So it was a tad macabre for people to be talking so vociferously about her funeral. It started when Labour MP **Rosie Cooper** wrote to No. 10 that some constituents were "appalled" that Thatcher would be accorded a state funeral—normally reserved for monarchs. **Tony Blair**'s political secretary promised that "there are no such plans," which spawned criticism from the Iron Lady's Conservative party. But is she even worthy? Apart from turning around the battered economy and being the first female PM, her exploits don't match those of two other PMs given state funerals—the **Duke of Wellington** defeated Napoleon at Waterloo and **Winston Churchill** took on Hitler. Thatcher, by comparison, saved 1,800 Falkland Islanders, and their sheep, from Argentine rule.

ADAM BEACH

THE PERFECT ROLE FOR A NATIVE SON

Manitoba-born Saulteaux Ojibwa **Adam Beach** has already captured Hollywood's heart. Now, he's hoping his native tribe shares his fans' affections. The 33-year-old actor, who will appear in the Steven Spielberg produced, Clint Eastwood directed, **Paul Haggis** written blockbuster *Flags of Our Fathers* in October, is running for chief of the 1,680-strong Lake Manitoba Dog Creek reservation. Beach, best known for starring alongside **Nicolas Cage** in *Windtalkers*, regularly visits native reserves to warn teens about alcohol and drugs (Beach's mother was killed by a drunk driver when he was 8). The married father of two, who hasn't hung a single campaign poster (only one of the four candidates has), will find out if he's Dog Creek's newest chief on Aug. 30. If he wins the vote, it could make a great movie.





'I'M NOT MOTHER TERESA'

music

Nelly Furtado explains her transformation from Portuguese songbird to 'Promiscuous' girl

BY JOHN INTINI, PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVIDA NEMEROFF

Her flight home to Toronto delayed by half an hour, Nelly Furtado kills the time flipping through trashy tabloids at a newsstand in Boston's Logan International Airport. She giggles at photos of A list fashion disasters and devours every detail of the Pamela Anderson-Kid Rock wedding story. Nobody in the busy terminal—except the security guard who searched her carry-on bags—seems to notice that one of the world's hottest pop stars is standing among them (her new album, *Loose*, has topped the charts this summer in Canada and the U.S.). Not a single commuter pulls a pen or a camera phone on her.

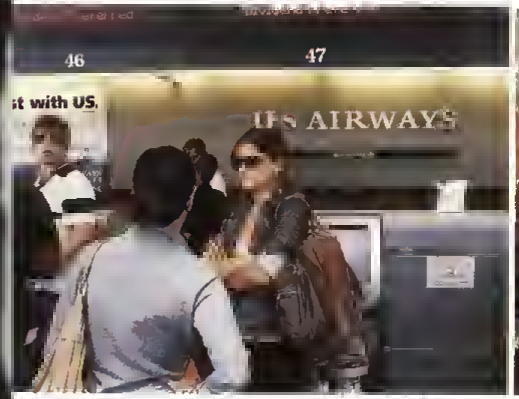
Furtado isn't showing much skin, which may help to explain why she's invisible to this crowd. Although her face is caked in camera-ready makeup (she taped a TV interview earlier in the day), her tight black jeans, tapered at the ankle, and silver blazer make her look almost grandmotherly compared to the midriff-baring pop tart fans are used to seeing dance around in the video for *Promiscuous*, her first single from *Loose*.

Some argue that Furtado's transformation from Portuguese songbird to *Promiscuous* girl is a natural pop star progression. Others think the 27-year-old has sold out—that she is trying to reclaim the glory days when her 2000 debut, *Whoa, Nelly!*, sold five million copies and earned her a Grammy award. *Folklore*, her "very personal" sophomore effort in 2003, tanked by comparison.

The art of reinvention—of which Madonna is queen—has saved many musical careers. But unlike the former Material Girl, and to a lesser extent Gwen Stefani (both singers are major influences on *Loose*), Furtado's musical makeover seems a bit forced. Madonna and Metric's Emily Haines (another of Furtado's influences) seem to be completely in control, even somewhat intimidating in their sexuality; they've made a calculated decision for commercial and feminist reasons. In contrast, Furtado's new, overt sexuality comes off as unoriginal—overdone by thousands of pouty pop stars with a quarter of Furtado's natural talent. She says she's in charge of her image—and she may well be—but the revamping feels as if it's been imposed rather than chosen by the unique, articulate singer we've seen in the past. But Furtado doesn't care what the critics say. "I'm used to not being understood," she says. "I never figured out where I fit in." So as Christina Aguilera goes from dirty girl to glam, Furtado—on the surface, at least—seems headed in the other direction.

Still, Furtado has the vocal chops to compete with any of the former Mouseketeers. Listen to *Loose*, and it's hard to substantiate the sex-over-substance argument. This is Furtado's boldest, catchiest and strongest release to date. She enlisted legendary hip-hop producer Timbaland (who just finished working on Justin Timberlake's new CD) for a more urban edge. "I kind of wanted to piss people off," says Furtado, unleashing her trademark laugh. "I like making people scratch their heads and say 'what the f?' Maybe I'm immature, but who doesn't get great pleasure out of pushing people's buttons? And what I'm doing is almost prudish compared to some of the pole-dancing that goes on in other pop stars' videos. I'm still playing the drums in *Promiscuous*."

Promiscuous is the biggest single of 2006—six weeks atop Billboard's Hot 100 chart makes it the longest-running No. 1 since Kanye West's *Gold Digger* last fall—but Furtado admits to being initially hesitant about it. "The beat is so club," she says. "And I'm a mother who spends one per cent of my life in clubs." She got over it. "I figured that since my track record was pretty good, I was allowed to shake my booty a little on one song," she says. "I wanted to show my fans





A RECENT PROMOTIONAL tour took Furtado from Chicago to Boston, including a stop in Philadelphia, where she did two radio station visits. It was 36 degrees out and one of the radio hosts was self-absorbed, but nothing seemed to faze the 27-year-old singer.

that they, I'm human, too. I'm not Mother Teresa."

Furtado maintains that the new Nelly is partly a product of being a mom—she tells anyone who will listen that since giving birth to her daughter, Nevis, almost three years ago, she feels sexier and more in touch with her femininity than ever. And *Loose* is just part of her ongoing love affair with hip hop—she wrote rhymes at 14 and formed Nelstar, a trip-hop band, after moving from Victoria to Toronto when she was 17. "Hip hop was the first music that was mine," says Furtado, whose career includes collaborations with Missy Elliott, the Roots and k-os. "Not something from my parents' record collection."

By hip-hop standards, Furtado travels with a very modest entourage. It includes her road manager, Andres, who hails from Colombia and now lives with his wife of seven months in Miami; Karl, a burly 250-pounder from Brampton, Ont., who provides the muscle; and Louisa, Furtado's long-time friend and hair and makeup artist, who could easily pass as the pop star if Furtado ever needed a decoy.

On occasion, Nevis joins mom on the road. Furtado and Jasper Gahunia—Nevis's dad and Furtado's former DJ—broke up about a year and a half ago. They "grew apart," she says, after four years together. "We're active co-parents," says Furtado. "We'll be in each other's lives forever." And in her music. Their split inspired a couple of especially personal tracks on *Loose*. On one, *In God's Hands*, she sings, *We forgot about love / We forgot about faith / We forgot about trust / We forgot about us*. And yet, she's fiercely private when asked about Gahunia—not every aspect of her personal life is for public consumption. "Alanis Morissette can write songs about all her ex-lovers," says Furtado. "But I've left things out of albums because they're too personal, too scathing, too much. It's great that she can do it. I wish I had the balls."

Morning radio rules south of the border, so during a 10-day, 14-city promotional tour, most days begin with hair and makeup at 4:30 a.m. Once Louisa applies Furtado with her game face, the pop star is all business.

Furtado starts the last day of the tour in Philadelphia with two radio station visits, before catching a plane to Boston for a couple more in the afternoon. It's tedious, but she's a pro. During an early morning meet-and-greet with contest winners at the first stop, Wired 96.5, Furtado is chatty while signing autographs, pastes on a big smile for every photo, and is quick to offer her hand to shake or a big hug (including one to a middle-aged fan, who seems strangely out of place among the dozen or so teenyboppers). A slave to her BlackBerry, she pounds out emails on the tiny keys whenever there is a break in the action. When she heads into the studio, a group of interns gathers in a nearby edit suite to listen to the on-air interview. About halfway through, a curly-haired, heavy-set kid—who doesn't look a day older than 18—proclaims: "She is the perfect woman for any man." Nobody in the room argues with him.

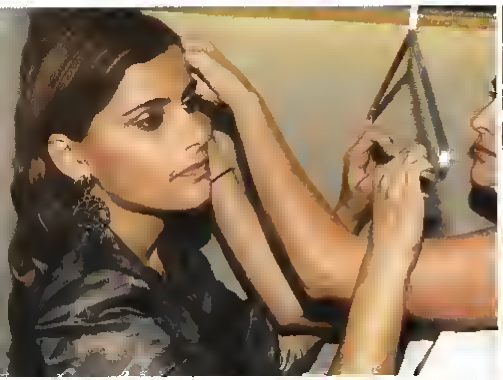
Nothing—not even the blistering 36-degree heat in Philadelphia and Boston—seems to faze Furtado. At the second stop, still in the city that Rocky built, Furtado deals gracefully with a host on Q102 who talks more about himself during their eight minutes on the air than his guest. Afterwards, asked how she handles on-air jerks, Furtado smirks. "If I'm bored in a situation," she says, "I can just play a character."

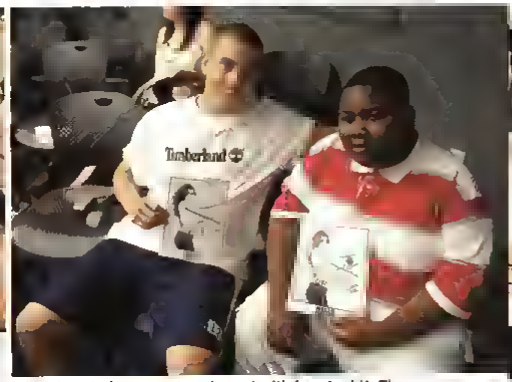
That's one of the lessons she learned a couple of years ago in acting class. "That changed everything for me—it taught me how to really let go and embrace the role of entertainer," says Furtado. "It has helped me in photo shoots, video shoots, interviews and in the recording studio. It's saved me many brain cells." Back then, Furtado was prepping for *Paint it Yellow*, in which she was to play a student of Indian descent. But she was dropped from the project before shooting started when the Bollywood director decided that an English version of the film wasn't true to his vision. "When I first broke in, I was offered about 15 Hollywood scripts," says Furtado. "But I didn't want to act then—it seemed too cliché."

She's open to big-screen possibilities, but for now music is the focus. Furtado will spend the second half of 2006 touring, and plans to release an album of B-sides by Valentine's Day. She then hopes to spend two weeks in the studio with Timbaland and the rest of the team who put together *Loose*. "The idea is to be a band—like the Gorillaz or Gnarls Barkley," says Furtado. "It would be a collaborative effort so there wouldn't be any pressure of being a solo artist." After that, she says, the time has come for a Latin album (Furtado has already secured a producer). "With *Loose*, I've taken the pop thing to the limit," she says. "I'm lucky that sexiness is in style and hip hop is in style." Six years ago, when hawking *Whoa, Nelly!*, Furtado told *Maclean's*, "Why would you want everyone buying your record because it is the cool thing to do?" Hey, things change.

On the night before her last day of the U.S. promo tour, she settles into a lounge on the 31st floor of Philadelphia's trendy Loews Hotel and orders a late-night snack—chicken noodle soup and a chicken salad. She's washed away most of her TV makeup, which leaves her more stunning than sexy. She kicks off her gold-sequined sandals, climbs into an armchair, and curls her right leg under her tiny body. "When I was 21, I wanted to get on stage and save the world and would sometimes take my angst out on the audience," says Furtado. "I wouldn't smash guitars, but it would hold me back a bit. My music was a little cerebral at times. I was trying a lot of things with different musical styles and I didn't think that anybody was really getting it."

She admits there isn't as much to get with her recent effort. "*Loose* isn't so much about the lyrics," says Furtado, who decided for the first time not to include the words in the liner notes. "It's about indulging in pleasures—whether it's dancing or lovemaking." (The second single from *Loose* is *Maneater*.)





ON THE ROAD AGAIN: Furtado gets a touch-up done at the Philadelphia airport after a meet-and-greet with fans (right). The former tomboy was annoyed when the strap on her silver four-inch Yves Saint Laurent heels broke after an airport security check.

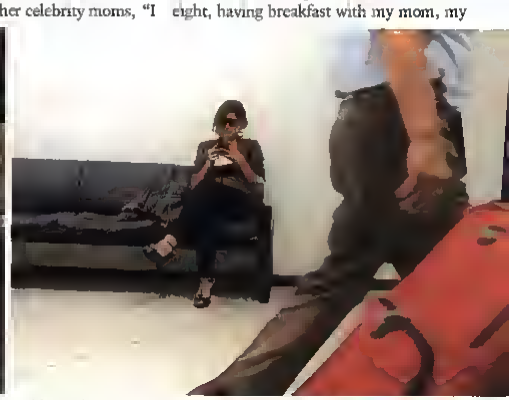
In Toronto and Portugal, has done well to stay out of the tabloids. After she wrote Phoenix Suns star Steve Nash into the lyrics of *Promiscuous*, a ridiculous rumour hit the gossip columns that she and the Canadian-born basketball player—who is married with two children—were an item. "My publicist must have started that," laughs Furtado, "because I'm so boring."

In her personal life, maybe. But her body—which has left a trail of male journalists tripping over their words—is getting nearly as much buzz as the new album. So where did the cute tomboyish hippie from Victoria go? "South Beach," says Furtado, who lived there for three months while recording *Loose*. "I felt validated in Miami as a Portuguese woman. After having Nevis, I had more curves and was surrounded by women with similar bodies." Unlike those other celebrity moms, "I used music as a bit of a shield for a long time," she says. "For a long time I didn't want to be beautiful or sexy. People wanted to throw sexy clothes on me when I started, but I wasn't ready. I didn't like walking in heels." She does now. And she's annoyed when the strap on one of her silver Yves Saint Laurent heels (which add about four inches to her five-foot-nothing frame) breaks after removing the shoes for a routine security check at Philadelphia's International Airport.

Furtado, who is very candid about most things, puts her guard up when asked if she has a boyfriend. "My main relationships," she says, "are with my daughter and my music." When pushed, she admits she's seeing someone, but won't reveal his name. She wants to have one or two more children ("hopefully in the next three years. I'll have another"), but isn't so sure about marriage.

Considering the level of international fame that she's achieved, Furtado, who owns homes





AT THE AIRPORT (right), Furtado's tight black jeans, tapered at the ankle, and silver blazer make her look almost grandmotherly compared to the midriff-baring pop tart fans are used to seeing dance around in the video for *Promiscuous*.

didn't pull one of those 'I'm going to get fit in a month after having a baby,' because it's not a reality," says Furtado. "I breastfed Nevis exclusively for nine months. I wasn't concerned about the extra five or 10 lb." Furtado went to the gym three days a week for a little while. "Now I hit the gym when I can," she says. "I go for a walk one day, push the stroller up a hill the next day and do push-ups and sit-ups in my bedroom on another. And thank God for dancing."

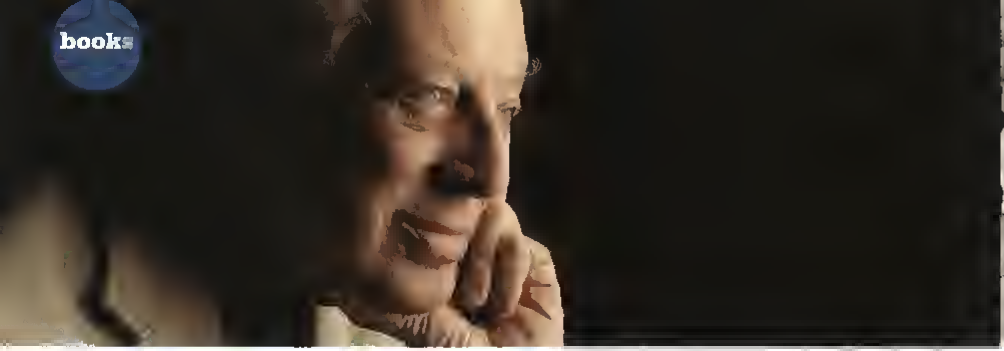
Raised Roman Catholic, Furtado says she's "done all the wrong things" in her life—moving to Toronto by herself when she was a teenager, dropping out of college, and having a child out of wedlock. She has always been a bit of a rebel. When she was 15, she and a group of friends staged Janet Jackson's sexually charged *If* at a high school talent show. "There's a part in the routine where she simulates oral sex," says Furtado. "The teachers hadn't previewed it before we performed it for 300 kids. We all had ripped jeans and business. Everyone loved it. But an hour later, we were called to the principal's office. The principal said if we wanted to take the routine to the city finals, we had to edit out the scenes that simulated oral sex. We were like, 'oral sex? We're just dancing.'"

Her introduction to sexuality through music happened one morning, years earlier, over her mother's pancakes. "I was about eight, having breakfast with my mom, my brother and my sister, when *Let's Talk About Sex* by Salt-N-Pepa came on the radio," says Furtado. "I still remember the look on my mom's face. I don't know if she turned the radio off or just lowered it, but I immediately loved the song. I loved that I loved something my mom didn't like. It was a moment of separation." Even now that she's a mother, Furtado wishes her mom hadn't been so embarrassed by the song's message. "I think an early sex-ed conversation can only help," says Furtado. "I would have loved if my mom had pumped that tune." M

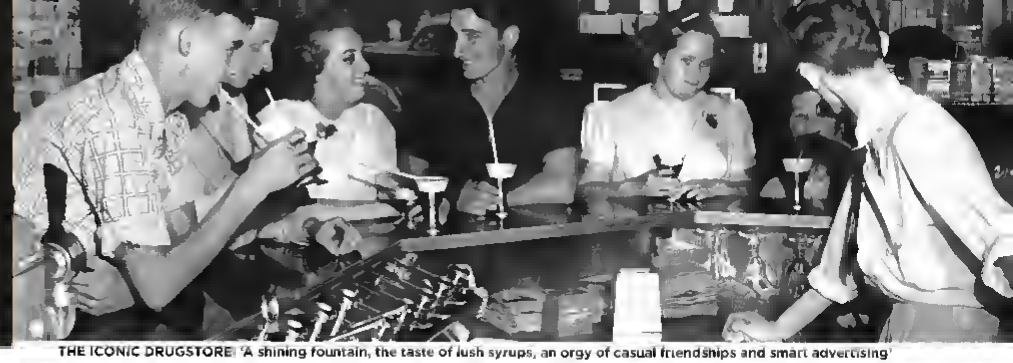


CHRISTINA AGUILERA HAS SOMETHING TO SAY

"If you see me walkin' down the street / Or in the pages of your magazines / Lookin' just a little differently / Showin' off a softer side of me / They say I'm looking like a lady / They say that love has gone and changed me / But don't be fooled by everythin' you see / I gotta let the naughty in me free / I still got the nasty in me / Still got that dirty degree / And if you want some more, sexy / Still got that freak in me"—from *Still Dirrty* on *Back to Basics*



COOKE managed to spend 70 years as a working reporter without falling prey to the self-regarding pomposity that afflicts 'the media'



THE ICONIC DRUGSTORE 'A shining fountain, the taste of lush syrups, an orgy of casual friendships and smart advertising'

A lost manuscript finds America

Alistair Cooke's ruminations about a pre-hyperpower U.S. are magnificently prescient

BY MARK STEYN

I'm in Australia at the moment and I'd be happy to toss in a slab of informed local colour were it not for a certain wariness observing a country that's like yours but not quite is a very particular skill. Canadians have done very well at it, of course, dispatching south of the 49th parallel legions of comedians, pundits and other members of the observer class to comment on the Great Satan. Nonetheless, the master observer of America (post Tocqueville, one hastens to add) was an Englishman by birth, Alistair Cooke, who reported on the United States for the BBC for six decades, until a couple of weeks before his death at the age of 96 in 2004.

I knew him a bit in the nineties, when I shared the Corporation's New York studio with him. The BBC had decided to create a sort of chattier version of his *Letter From America* called *Postcard From Gotham*, and they hired me to host it. As to how they compared, let me simply quote the headlines of two reviews: "Treasured Letters And Garish Cards" (the *Observer*) and "All I Got Was A Lousy Postcard: Robert Hanks Browses Through Two Oh So Breezy Postscripts To Letter From America" (the *Independent*). Alistair was more indulgent, rightly recognizing that he'd see off this upstart as he'd seen off so many other variants of his indestructible franchise. But I enjoyed our weekly off air chats, mainly about Alec Wilder, Bunny Berigan, John O'Hara and other mid-century names he seemed relieved anyone in the office had still heard of.

A dapper figure in trilby and camel hair coat, he'd glide past reception and into the studio, place a typed script on a wooden, straw-latticed lectern and begin to talk. And he was so good at talking I stopped thinking of him as a writer—or, at any rate, a writer you could read on the page, without the aid of that clipped mid-Atlantic inflection that sounded, to Americans, like the perfect English gentleman and, to Britons, like a chap who'd been in the colonies too long. In fact, away from the radio microphone, Cooke was a wonderful writer. At his best, he understood the power of words as sounds and rhythms: he found the music in America, even in its bleakest moments. Here's his opening sentence on George Gershwin's funeral:

"I remember it as one of those midsummer mornings in New York when the skies can take no more of the rising heat and dump in the city a cataclysm of warm rain."

What a marvellous evocation. Does it tell you anything about Gershwin? No. But, as much as *Summertime* does at the opening of *Porgy And Bess*, it draws you irresistibly into the piece. Cooke wrote beautifully on music, less well on sport, where the sidling up to the subject could get a little precious (after reviewing a golfing memoir by Bobby Jones, he received a letter from the author, flattered but startled to have been compared, in a few short paragraphs, to Aristotle, Flaubert, John Donne and Walter Lippmann). And for the big subject—the one he chronicled for most of the American century—his one tome, *Alistair Cooke's America*, had the whiff of the TV tie-in about it.

Until now. A month or two before his death, his assistant found an old, long lost manuscript at the bottom of a closet. Cooke was delighted, and here it is between hard covers—*The American Home Front 1941-1942*, a more or less contemporaneous account of a cross-country drive undertaken a few weeks after Pearl Harbor—Washington to Miami to Seattle to Portland, Maine. I've been reading it on little commuter flights hopping across Oz and it's both a terrific read and strangely timely. Here he is, for example, in a glum part of Louisville, Ky., already suffused in war weariness on a Saturday night in February 1942:

"There seems to be, in the young people at least, only the tired motions of living and a glazed animal indifference to ideas, humor, the sight of new faces, even the presence of the roving soldiers. This is an atmosphere that no European need feel strange in. For it is the seeping seediness of English provincial towns. Yet this is an American town, and it has all the American fixtures, but it looks like a town in the English north or midlands trying to go American. In Texas, in Illinois, in Connecticut, in California, a drugstore, for instance, means the image of a complete American community—a shining fountain, the taste of lush syrups, an orgy of casual friendships and smart advertising, a halfway house between brisk comings and goings, the wayside first aid station of American cleanliness and quick health. It should, and very often does, 'baffle the foreigner like an idiom.' But here it is what a drugstore might be in Bulgaria or Leeds—a sad imitation by a storekeeper who once read an American novel and was filled with immortal longings."

That's a very sharp insight. At that time, there were, obviously, no drugstores in Bulgaria. But I went to one in Sofia just after the fall of the Commies and it was exactly as Cooke foresaw: "a sad imitation." Many provincial towns in England and elsewhere have superficially "gone American" in the years since—filled with pseudo-diners and burger joints—while retaining and, indeed, accelerating their "seeping seediness." Cooke anticipated the limitations of the cheeseburger imperium: the more the world mimicked the superficial surface of American life, the less it understood the deeper cultural dynamic of the country.

Cooke managed to spend a good three score and ten as a working reporter without falling prey to the self-regarding pomposity that afflicts "the media," not least in the U.S. Along the way, *The American Home Front* includes as sound an analysis of his profession as one will find. It's also a useful insight into its failings in our current war:

"Most roving reporters, and indeed all foreign correspondents whenever they desert statistics for judgments of opinion and 'morale,' become models of self-deception. They may call themselves, with proper gravity, 'reporters.' But any time after the youth of Sigmund Freud, they are nothing but quack psychiatrists who do not even know that this is the field they practise."

In a TV age, when Hezbollah "rescue workers" artfully position dead babies with bused-in toy props for the best camera angles, the quack psychiatry is ever more the default mode of the foreign correspondent's trade. But Cooke's only warming up:

"We are a tribe of artful men who have learned over the years to stifle our doubts about our own capacity to observe. We soon renounce the human beings we deal and live with for a context of 'public affairs.' This means usually the society of other journalists, diplomats, businessmen, civil servants, and the minor functionaries of State Departments and governments recently dethroned. Within this convenient frame of reference, you can find an approximation to the 'truth' that will glibly describe any current crisis in the political life of any country you care to name. There has never been anything to prevent even a minor poet from stumbling on an emotional truth that is a daily truism of an analyst's parlor. The only difference is that the 'foreign correspondent' solemnly believes his 'conclusions' are 'reached.'"

Splendid—and that's just an aside, one of thousands of magnificent ruminations from the road. Cooke's tour of *The American Home Front* is an evocative portrait of a nation in transition. To Canadians and Europeans these days, the U.S. is more visibly militaristic than any other part of the West: the "SUPPORT OUR TROOPS" bumper stickers, the returning and departing soldiers at airports, the National Guard stands at the county fair. But as late as 1940 you could travel across the country and never see a single serviceman. America had a smaller standing army than Sweden, and Canada was the militarist culture on the North American continent. The transformation of a 19th-century republic in splendid isolation to a hyperpower that now accounts for 40 per cent of the planet's military spending was accomplished in large part during the months of Cooke's journey. Yet, en route, he reminds us that in other aspects America hasn't changed. For one thing, in the way of democratic cultures, it still prefers to respond to crises rather than anticipate them. There remains a contradiction at the heart of American power: the de facto global policeman is, on the home front, still a skeptic about foreign entanglements, as much as he was when young draft nervous soda jerks and plump Rotarians idly watched Cooke's Lincoln Zephyr pull up at the gas station in the spring of 1942. In one town, thirsty after the long drive, Cooke is greeted with a sign that "to an Eskimo" may seem "trivial" but he regards as the first "gentle nudge to the American way of life":

"Regret. Out of Coca Cola." M



FINALLY A BOOK ABOUT . WHITE HOUSE JOTTING

David Greenberg's odd little book *Presidential Doodles* (Perseus) offers a field day for those interested in presidential psyches. The star occupant of the office, judged by doodling standards, was Herbert Hoover, whose geometric patterns were copied onto baby clothes in 1930 and sold as "Hoover Scribble Rompers." John F. Kennedy liked images of yachts, even sketching one on a page where he had also added a small reminder: "Blockade Cuba!"

DOREEN SPOONER/GETTY IMAGES

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MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS

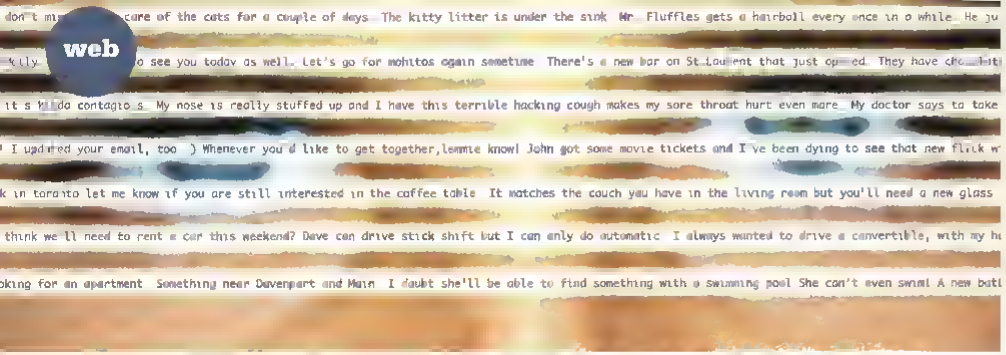
COMPILED BY BRIAN BETHUNE

Fiction

		LAST WEEK (WEEKS ON LIST)
1.	SUITE FRANÇAISE by Irène Némirovsky	1 (17)
2.	PHANTOM by Terry Goodkind	2 (3)
3.	BOOK OF LONGING by Leonard Cohen	10 (14)
4.	KNIGHTS OF THE BLACK AND WHITE by Jack Whyte	(1)
5.	THE BIRTH HOUSE by Ami McKay	4 (21)
6.	TWELVE SHARP by Janet Evanovich	3 (6)
7.	THEFT by Peter Carey	5 (10)
8.	JPOD by Douglas Coupland	7 (12)
9.	LONDONSTANI by Gautam Malkani	6 (4)
10.	DIGGING TO AMERICA by Anne Tyler	9 (6)

Non-fiction

1.	MARLEY & ME by John Grogan	3 (26)
2.	THE WEATHER MAKERS by Tim Flannery	2 (22)
3.	DISPATCHES FROM THE EDGE by Anderson Cooper	4 (9)
4.	SNAKES IN SUITS by Paul Babiak and Robert Hare	10 (3)
5.	STUMBLING ON HAPPINESS by Daniel Gilbert	9 (6)
6.	THE BATTLE FOR SPAIN by Antony Beevor	(1)
7.	IRAN AWAKENING by Shirin Ebadi	(1)
8.	HEAT by Bill Buford	9 (6)
9.	THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME by Martin Gilbert	1 (6)
10.	THE ISLAND OF SEVEN CITIES by Paul Chlasson	7 (12)



LOOKING OVER YOUR SHOULDER Gmail's brand of snooping is an affront to privacy experts—and an inspiration to industry peers

Got a date Friday? Google knows.

And it has just the dress for you. The company is reading your email—so it can sell you stuff.

BY SARAH ELTON • Every day, millions of people worldwide log in to Gmail, Google's free Web-based mail service. Some log in for the entire day and use the live chat function, a recent addition to the program. Google launched Gmail two years ago as one way to become "stickier"—that is, get users to spend more time on its site to increase ad revenue. It's working—the service is paid for entirely by ads. When email is sent or received, a fresh column of ads appears on the right hand side of the screen. Write about a book, and ads for online bookstores pop up. Mention a camping trip, and you'll see canoe rentals in the area. The ads are chosen to be relevant to the content of the email.

I discovered recently just how relevant when I wrote an email to a friend using my Gmail account. My note mentioned a pregnant woman whose husband had an affair. The Google ads didn't push baby gear and parenting books. Rather, Gmail understood that "pregnant" in this case wasn't a good thing because it was coupled with the word "affair." So it offered the services of a private investigator and a marriage therapist.

The ability to scan email, understand its content and provide a contextual ad is what distinguishes Gmail from other Web-based email providers. Yahoo! tracks what people view online and uses this data to customize ads, Hotmail displays banner ads based on demographic information provided when users register, and the geographic location of their IP addresses. But only Gmail attempts to understand what you are writing—the company calls it "content extraction"—in order to sell the data to advertisers. This patented method has raised the ire of privacy advocates around the planet.

Thirty-one privacy and civil liberties groups have called on Google to suspend its email service and correct the violation. The U.K.-based watchdog Privacy International says Gmail violates EU data protection law and has urged the EU, as well as Britain's information commissioner, to take action. The California Senate introduced a bill to limit providers like Gmail in the scanning of email content, after the alarm was sounded by Senator Liz Figueroa. (It was not adopted, there was reportedly heavy lobbying against it.)

Google is tight-lipped about the details, but content extraction involves complicated algorithms that examine all information in a message, including the recipient's location and links to Web pages and attachments. Google then assigns a topic to the message so it can send a related ad. To ensure the ad is appropriate, says Gmail's product manager, Keith Coleman, there is a team of linguists whose job it is to look at the kinds of words people use when talking about certain topics. "This team is constantly updating and improving the system," he says.

Privacy experts say Gmail is violating democratic principles and changing the role of the communication carrier, which has remained the same since a feather-capped lad delivered a letter sealed with wax: the young man didn't break the seal, the postal carrier doesn't read your letters, the phone company doesn't eavesdrop on your calls. "Gmail has broken a fundamental trust," says Marc Rotenberg, executive director of the Electronic Privacy Information Center in Washington.

Some say Google doesn't have a great track record on privacy. When you visit a Google site, your IP address is recorded and all your searches tracked. This information will be stored until 2038—much longer than on other websites. Proof that Google examines this data is on its Zeitgeist page, which posts the most popular search terms, by place. And Google's privacy policy permits it to track users across its various products. It could thus potentially create complex profiles, combining search terms and email information. Coleman demurs. "We don't create profiles of users," he says. The ads, he says, "are generated in real time and not associated with the user in any permanent way." But data collected by search engines has posed problems: the *New York Times* recently used "anonymous" search data posted by AOL to trace an individual user—a woman in Georgia.

Gmail is still in its beta phase, a wide launch is anticipated soon. So Google could change the service to address concerns. On the other hand, the whole industry is headed toward some permutation of the Google algorithm. "Contextual relevance is something we're all interested in," says Mike Sharma, sales director for MSN Canada. And users—judging by Gmail's success—don't seem to mind. M



LOGGING OFF... A FINAL RESTING SPACE
Young people with *MySpace.com* profile pages who die or cause someone's death are featured on MyDeathSpace, an online mausoleum of the ill-fated. The product of San Francisco paralegal Mike Patterson, the site includes news stories of traffic accidents, suicides and murders—both victims and the perps—as well as links to their MySpace profile pages. Patterson calls it "an extension of a normal obituary." Others would call it sick.

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY RONIT NOVAK

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WHEN THE NAME Blasted Church was tested, 'nine out of 10 said don't do it.' Today the winery can hardly keep up with the demand

Blasting away bottle snobbery

Bernie Hadley-Beauregard of Vancouver is creating a buzz in the world of wine labels

BY AMY ROSEN • Wine labels are having their moment, and among those who create them, Bernie Hadley Beauregard, head of Brandever Strategy of Vancouver, has been labelled the best. At June's San Francisco International Wine Competition, Brandever took seven of the eight highest awards for wine label designs, an unprecedented landslide in the label category of the 25 year-old annual competition. "I think there's been an awakening to the fact that the status quo [the naming protocol of the past] has not been working very well," says Hadley Beauregard, the creative mind behind such B.C. labels as Blasted Church, Laughing Stock, Therapy Vineyards and Dirty Laundry. He's right: people once fearful of wine's hoity-toity exteriors evoking family names and scenic vineyards are quaffing concepts that are cheeky and approachable: hello, Fat Bastard.

Not everyone is thrilled. "Wine labels have become the vinous equivalent of rap music," says Tony Aspler, author of *The Wine Atlas of Canada*, to be published this fall. "There was a time when the wine in the bottle was what mattered, today it seems the marketers have taken over from the winemakers." Still, as wine becomes more like a fashion product, the challenge for vintners is in finding a concept that has longevity—they don't want their 2004 vintages to come and go like last year's silver sequined leggings.

Animals have had their starring turn. The trend started with the runaway success of the Australian Yellow Tail brand, which launched a few years back and now sells millions of cases a year. So-called critter labels (rabbits, wallabies, you name it) are now so ubiquitous there are rumours that some Canadian liquor boards have put an unofficial freeze on bringing any more of them in: there's no longer any point of differentiation.

And that's where the wine labelling stars come in. In the U.S., Bonny Doon Vineyard has created brands like Riesling Asylum, then there are the creative in-house designs of Don Sebastiani & Sons with their Screw Kappa Napa and Smoking Loon labels. That said, design studios focused on one specific category, like wine packaging, are rare. In fact, Brandever may be Canada's sole design studio dedicated to wine labels.

One of the company's projects was the award-winning labels of Blasted Church. Under previous owners, with the moniker Prpich Hills, the winery had trouble selling 1,000 cases a year at $8.50 per bottle. Today, Blasted Church can hardly keep up with the demand, the winery produces 10,000 cases a year, with a price range of $16 to $26 a bottle. "I went through the process of researching and visiting Okanagan Falls [where the winery is located]," says Hadley-Beauregard, who is both a brand strategist and a creative designer. He met with a volunteer at the local museum, and asked her if she knew of any quirky stories relating to the town's history. After much prodding she finally said, "Well—there is this dynamite church." It seems a church from a neighbouring community had been taken down with the help of explosives to loosen the nails and moved to Okanagan in 1929. "Has anyone ever called this church Blasted Church?" Hadley Beauregard asked. "As soon as I said that, her lips pursed and she said 'no' quite disapprovingly. And I knew I had the name." The new vineyard owners were all for it, but "when I first showed the concept to an extended group of people, nine out of 10 said don't do it." And then the 10th person called him the next day and changed her yes to a no.

The true story behind another of Hadley Beauregard's concepts, the label Dirty Laundry, is that a mining-era Chinese labourer jumped off the train in Summerland, B.C., and started a Chinese laundry in the village. "He expanded to include a bordello upstairs," says Hadley Beauregard. "Talk about your perfect business model."

He says these double entendres aren't his only approach, but then why mess with success? Dirty Laundry, like Blasted Church, has seen enviable sales increases. Under the previous owners (when the vineyard was called Scherzinger), it sold some 800 cases a year. After converting to Dirty Laundry, the winery's shelves have been stripped bare. Almost overnight the world discovered their wine: suddenly all the best restaurants in Vancouver were clamouring for it, with celebrity chef Rob Feenie of Lumière going so far as to say that it's one of the best wines ever to come out of the Okanagan. Funny thing is, nothing had changed but the label. M



TODAY'S SPECIAL... TURKMENISTAN MELONS

The central Asian republic is known for its fabulous melons, and its egotistical, authoritarian president-for-life, Saparmurat Niyazov. To honour the man who calls himself "Chief of All Turkmens," the country has named a melon after him. According to a local food official, the melon is distinguished by "excellent taste and large size." Niyazov himself is chuffed, declaring, "the smell makes your head spin." The melons' smell, that is

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IN *BLUE STATE*, a Democrat (Meyer, right) makes good on a drunken promise, taking a road trip to Canada with a stranger (Paquin)

Yes, they fled Bush for Winnipeg

Anna Paquin may only remember the cold, but she came home for her first co-production

BY SHANDA DEZIEL • Back in 2004, Anna Paquin was the envy of her liberal American friends. The holder of two passports—Canada and New Zealand—the New York based actor could have easily set up house elsewhere, rather than endure four more years of a George W. Bush government. But Paquin, a U.S. green card holder, stayed put. It's only her latest movie character who is getting out of Dodge.

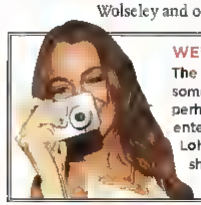
In the recently wrapped, yet-to-be-released *Blue State*, a San Francisco Democrat named John (played by Breckin Meyer), working on the Kerry/Edwards campaign in the swing state of Ohio, makes a drunken promise to move to Canada if Bush is re-elected. Come Nov. 3, 2004, his friends goad him into going through with it. Paquin's character, Chloe, also an American, happens to be looking for a ride to Canada. While Chloe may agree with John's politics, she's got her own reasons for heading north. The two strangers set out for the border with a final destination of Winnipeg, where a kindly liberal hippie mom, who runs the organization *marryacanadian.ca*, will help them make the transition. "They're both running away from their lives a little bit," says Paquin, the 24-year old, Winnipeg-born Oscar winner (best supporting actress for *The Piano*), who's also producing the movie with her older brother, Andrew. "The film is not trying to beat anyone over the head with the political message. That's more the catalyst for the story of these two people and the connection they end up having with each other."

The writer/director, Marshall Lewy, describes the film as a romantic comedy road movie like *Sideways*. "But instead of wine, the backdrop is politics." Lewy's a New York native who lives in L.A., and like the main character in *Blue State*, campaigned for Kerry in Ohio. He had lots of friends who talked and joked about moving to Canada, but found that nobody actually went through with it. Still, the movie will strike a chord—after all, Citizenship and Immigration Canada did see a spike in the number of visitors to its website around the time of the election. And while there's no way to assess motivations, there was a 22 per cent increase in immigration applications from U.S. residents in 2004—compared to only a five per cent increase in 2003.

While *Blue State* touches on some major differences between the U.S. and Canada—universal health care, gay marriage, relaxed pot laws, tougher gun laws—Lewy says, "I tried not to go where movies like *Canadian Bacon* or *South Park* had already gone. I tried not to go for those familiar Canadian jokes or issues." He chose Winnipeg, without having ever visited, thinking it was "the equivalent of a Midwestern American city, a cross between Minneapolis, Pittsburgh and Columbus, Ohio." He was surprised to find that his producers, the Paquins, had lived there as kids. Andrew took Lewy to Winnipeg for research, where they discovered the left-leaning neighbourhood of Wolseley and other Canadian elements that made it into the movie: the corner of Portage and Main, Tim Hortons, and the Granite Curling Club. "I think it was originally going to be an ice hockey rink," says Anna, "but that was a little too obvious. We thought curling was more Canada specific and a little funnier to the imported Americans who must think, 'Okay, this is some completely random sport.' "

Paquin says the rest of the Canadian jokes mostly revolve around the cold—after all, the film is set right after the Nov. 2 election, so that puts the protagonists arriving in Winnipeg just as the city's gearing up for winter. Cold and snow are the only things Paquin remembers about her hometown—her family moved to New Zealand when she was 4. "The snowsuits and the boots and the whole rigging up for going outdoors was quite a procedure," she says. "And I remember having to have inside shows and outside shows for nursery school classes."

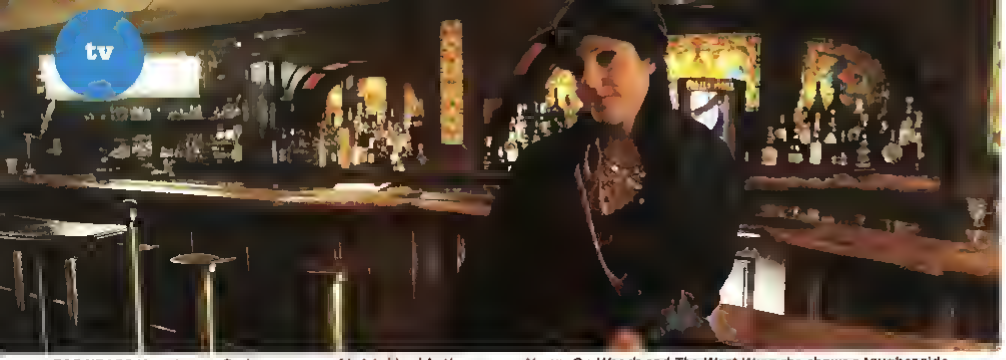
While in Winnipeg, Andrew and Anna drove past their old house, and shot some of the film's scenes in their aunt and uncle's current home. "They were very-nice slash-possibly-naive letting an entire film crew come through their house," says Paquin. Her uncle even signed on as an investor. In fact, the U.S.-based filmmakers had little trouble finding Canadian backers—and Canada is the only country where they've secured a distributor so far. They don't call us a blue state for nothing. M



WE'RE STALKING ... LINDSAY LOHAN

The party girl and celebrity rival to Paris Hilton wants to add some heft to her resumé by entertaining troops stationed in Iraq, perhaps through the USO, a service organization that arranges entertainment for troops. Unconcerned about potential danger, Lohan is said to be preparing for her performance by taking shooting lessons. They could prove valuable when she gets back home and encounters Hilton on the nightclub circuit.

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY RONIT NOVAK



FOR YEARS Mary-Louise Parker was one of L.A.'s likeable three-name Marys. On *Weeds* and *The West Wing* she shows a tougher side.

Meet Mary, Mary, quite contrary

When you're playing the icy villain of The Robber Bride, a bit of on-set tension just helps

BY SHANDA DEZIEL • "I'm sure they were probably all terrified of me and thinking I was a monster," says Mary-Louise Parker, referring to her three female co-stars in *The Robber Bride*, a CBC/Oxygen TV movie adaptation of Margaret Atwood's bestselling novel. On location in Toronto and Hamilton, Parker plays Zenia, a con artist who befriends and betrays three women. So far, the four actresses have only filmed one scene all together. And during that day, Parker says, "I was staying in the scene, and wasn't coming out of it as myself." In other words, on and off camera she was icy. "Sometimes when I have absolutely no preparation time and no rehearsal time, it's just useful for me to try and immerse myself in some sort of reality," explains Parker. "I'm not going to ask someone to call me by my character's name, but if I can create some sort of tension in some small way I might do that." She freely admits she doesn't need to make any friends between takes.

It's hard to see Parker as a bitch, especially as she recounts this story over breakfast with her two-year-old son William—often stopping mid-sentence to laugh at his antics. But actresses who break into the A-list in their 40s, as Parker has, are bound to have developed a tough exterior. While Parker's always been recognized for her theatre work, finding her place in film and TV took some time. For years, she was just one of those likeable three named Marys, along with Mary Stuart Masterson and Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio—and the South Carolina-born Parker's specialty was playing frail, tragic women (*Fried Green Tomatoes*, *Boys on the Side* and *Angels in America*, for which she won an Emmy). Then, just as she was starting to outgrow that type, thanks to her turn as a witty, sexy lobbyist, wooing Bradley Whitford's Josh on *The West Wing*, her real-life partner, actor Billy Crudup, left her seven months pregnant for a younger actress, Claire Danes. She quickly became the tabloids' victim du jour.

But Parker is nobody's victim. Earlier this year, she won a Golden Globe for her portrayal of Nancy Botwin, a pot-selling suburban single mom on Showtime's hit TV show *Weeds*. The word from the set and from Parker herself is that when she's not happy with the creative direction, she gets vocal. "I always think something can be better," she says about the second season, which starts Aug. 30 on Showcase. "Nothing's ever finished or ever perfect. I feel good about moving on only once I feel like everyone's done their best and done so selflessly, with the best interest of the project in mind." The show seems to have benefited from her insistence that Nancy get a little more aggressive, even reckless, expanding her pot business—and embarking on a romantic relationship with a drug enforcement agent, played by Martin Donovan, a deliciously quirky indie movie stalwart.

Parker takes all the credit for Donovan. "Honestly, he was my idea and I really pushed for him and I was just very stubborn. And I gloated every day that he did something wonderful on the set." The relationship with Donovan's Peter has added some much-needed depth to Parker's Nancy. For the first time, the character really has to examine the consequences of her illegal actions. Meanwhile, he brings out a goofier, vulnerable side that she hasn't let loose around her drug connections or her two sons. "I feel we raised the bar sometimes this season," says Parker, "but not all the time."

She's trying not to be as demanding or critical on the set of *Robber Bride*, and that meant not reading the novel beforehand. (Margaret Atwood apparently loves the script.) "Sometimes it's good to read the novel, but with this script I felt like they were trying to make it come together as succinctly as possible," says Parker. "If I read the novel, I probably would have been like, 'Well, in the book they did it this way.' I don't know if that would have been helpful." After all, it's enough to wrap her head around a character that's as slippery and chameleon-like as Zenia—particularly in a story that's told almost entirely in flashbacks. "It's confusing and difficult to try and be honest as an actor when the character's dishonest," says Parker. "She's somewhat pathological."

Back in 1993, when the book was first published, Zenia was compared to some of Shakespeare's more evil females, including Lady Macbeth and *King Lear*'s Goneril and Regan. Atwood described Zenia as a con artist, in the literary tradition of Becky Sharp from *Vanity Fair*—both characters use friendship to latch on to other women and then seduce



BANNING LIQUIDS ON PLANES — ACCORDING TO TV

"I'm afraid that these terrorists have struck at what we in the West hold most dear. Our beverages. They resent our wide range of liquid-refreshment options. We live in the most easily quenched parts of the world. And they hate that."—Jon Oliver on *The Daily Show*

"In London, you can't even bring toothpaste onto a plane, which, if you're English, isn't that big of a problem."—Jay Leno on *The Tonight Show*

PHOTOGRAPH BY DONALD WEBER



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their husbands/boyfriends Others speculated that the cosmetically enhanced character of Zenia was based on a real person, specifically Barbara Amiel, the wife of media baron Conrad Black and a columnist with this magazine Parker has never heard of Lady Black, nor does she need any antiquated literary precedents as a touchstone for this character "She sidles up to other people and intuits what they want," says Parker, "their expectations, their dreams, what they wished they presented to the world And she is constantly buttering people up and telling them they are what they wish they were I've known people like that, where there's no 'there' there—who they are depends on who they're with I've been really close to people like that." Parker suggests that in the past she's been taken in and burned, but now she's on the look out "It makes me wonder about other people in my life that I don't know well enough—or people I've just met who I'm seduced by and who I think are really wonderful Are they scamming me? I'm just eternally suspicious of people"

Like her new co-stars? According to Wendy Crewson, who plays Roz, Parker was off on her own the day that all the women were filming together For Crewson, Amanda Root (who plays Tony) and Susan Lynch (who plays Charis), it was intimidating "This is our Emmy winner," says Crewson. "We all wondered, 'Do we go over, do we talk to her, what do we say?' But we thought, 'No, this is best, we just let it sit here at this temperature, it keeps us all kind of focused'" In the book, these three characters are close friends, so it made sense for the actors to be, too Crewson, a Torontonian, picked up her two co-stars (Root is English, Lynch is Irish) on their first night in the city, and insisted on showing them landmarks from the book—the University of Toronto, the Toronto Island ferry and the hip bar (people speculate that it's the Rivoli) where Roz, Tony and Charis meet for lunch Then Crewson took them to her place for dinner "I didn't invite Mary-Louise," she says, quickly adding, "she wasn't in town"

But a mutual appreciation is beginning to develop "I love watching her keep her circle intact," Crewson says of Parker, "who she is and where she sits in this picture She's very concentrated I'm kind of out there going, 'Oh, your light's wrong, how can I help?' I'm being miss hostess, and accommodating, as we Canadian girls tend to be" If this sounds like a veiled insult, it's not Crewson's completely sincere And Parker, for her part, reciprocates. "I certainly like that Wendy Crewson," she says "I feel very sympatico with her." Out of the mouths of monsters M

Mel et al: I can help. Really.



I've often dreamed of getting into the financially rewarding world of celebrity damage control, which is financially rewarding and also, well, who cares what else it is It'd be neat and lucrative to be the person to whom famous and also rich people turn when they are at their most desperate but still solvent I fear I've left it too late, though I'm pushing 40 now and I'm not sure I've got the upper body strength required to swiftly dispose of a dead hooker

I'VE OFTEN DREAMED OF GETTING INTO CELEBRITY DAMAGE CONTROL, BUT I'M PUSHING 40 AND MAY NOT HAVE THE UPPER BODY STRENGTH TO DISPOSE OF A DEAD HOOKER

My exclusive firm would cater to only the *creme de la creme* of Hollywood talent, and also Lindsay Lohan because she has money and, equally important, poor judgment. A tasteful sign out front would ask that all visitors respect the three-Baldwin maximum Maybe I'd even give back to the community by lecturing up-and-coming celebrities, possibly as part of a double bill with Sean Penn's penetrating seminar, "The History of the Paparazzi and How to Punch Them in the Face."

My niche in this crowded field a focus on prevention Most "experts' do the sum total of jack and squat until their clients have said cheese for the mug shot Take Mel Gibson Mel is in the ninth circle of damage control hell, way down past Hugh Grant and his penis, deeper still than Pee Wee Herman and *his* penis, down there beyond even tainted Perrier and tampered-with Tylenol and Jessica Simpson and *her* penis (OK, I made up that last one, but in this business you've got to be prepared for any revelation)

It's hard to be precise, but in terms of the Mel thing it feels like we're getting close to his inevitable declaration that some of his best friends are Jews Can't you just feel it? I bet he's on the phone now to Danny Glover, pleading "Dude, I'm begging you, convert!" That's phase one Then he'll "spontaneously" get fitted for a yarmulke on the red carpet Hug it out with a few rabbis Recut *The Passion of the Christ* to put the blame on, I don't know, the blacks Or he could go the other way, do a sit down with Larry King and tearfully reveal *I totally didn't mean those hateful anti-Semitic remarks! I was in character, Larry, rehearsing for my big screen portrayal of the president of Iran!* Naturally, this would be followed by Mel's solemn vow to name his next child Gefilte

It's a long road back That's why my firm would be all about stopping scandal before it starts My philosophy can be summed up thusly *You're famous People expect you to drive drunk, smash up luxury automobiles and impregnate buxom teenagers. Just don't blame Jews for all the wars in the world and everything will be okey-dokey!*

Consider the reputation-saving benefits to Hollywood stars and starlets of taking my helpful, informative quiz

1 When you are pulled over by the police for driving under the influence, and you will be, which of the following statements is most advisable?

a) Good evening, officer Is there a problem?

b) Good evening, officer The Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world.

Answer a. (If you answer b, at least be certain not to make any other anti-Semitic, sexist or self-aggrandizing remarks. Oh, you did? Well then, you're pretty much boned.)

2 When you are reprimanded by a studio head for jeopardizing a film's production with your heavy late-night partying, and you will be, which of the following statements is most advisable?

a) I will report to the set at my designated call time

b) I will report to the set once I locate my underpants

Answer a. (Unless you're pretty sure your underpants are at the studio head's house, in which case b, then threaten to tell his wife.)

3 When you are pulled over by the police for picking up a transvestite hooker, and you probably won't be but Eddie Murphy was and golly it was hilarious, which of the following statements is most advisable?

a) Good evening, officer Have you met my agent, Shalomar?

b) Out of the goodness of my heart, I'm giving this defenceless hitchhiker a ride home. (*Pause for officers to laugh hysterically*) No, seriously, that's the story I'm going with

Answer Honestly, at this point does it make a difference? M

Scott Feschuk can be reached at sfeschuk@sympatico.ca

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MOST MEN are not hard-wired to understand the signals, so a woman must repeat them—many times if the man is exceptionally dense

Is she fondling her purse yet?

A definitive new book on body language helps men decode women's interest in them

BY CAMERON AINSWORTH-VINCZE • "The great question that has never been answered, despite my 30 years of research into the feminine soul," Sigmund Freud famously wrote, "is: what does a woman want?" Finally, some good news for the male species. The secret to translating those cryptic messages women so effortlessly transmit when courting has been decoded in a new book entitled *The Definitive Book of Body Language* by Allan and Barbara Pease, authors of 11 bestselling titles on the subject of human communication.

For centuries, men have assumed they make the first gesture during courtship. Not true. Studies indicate that 90 per cent of the time women are the initiators and that most men are as effective at wooing a woman as trying to capture a rabid grizzly bear using a mousetrap and a pound of bacon. Women's courtship rituals follow a five-step sequence, starting with eye contact. When a woman discovers a man she fancies, she waits until he notices her, holds a gaze directed at him for about five seconds and then looks away.

Most men are not hard-wired to understand this signal, so a female will usually need to repeat it three times before the average man notices it, five or more times if he is exceptionally dense. A woman will then deliver one or more fleeting smiles: not large, face-altering smiles, but quick half-smiles intended to give the targeted man the green light to approach. At this stage most men get confused and do not respond because they misinterpret the message, leading a woman to believe that the man in question is disinterested. So remember, gentlemen, a smile is a green light to spring into action.

Once contact has been made, a woman will then sit up straight to highlight her breasts and cross her legs or ankles to display them in an advantageous manner. If standing, she will angle her hips and head toward one shoulder to expose her neck. She might play with her hair, lick her lips and adjust her clothing or jewellery to suggest that she is grooming herself. The man will respond by standing up straight, sucking in his stomach, expanding his chest, adjusting his clothing, and touching his hair. Or he may tuck his thumbs into his belt so that his fingers point to exactly what he wants her to notice—his crotch.

Now comes the crucial moment when a man approaches and initiates conversation to break the ice. If all goes smoothly, the woman will wait for an opportunity to lightly touch him on the hand or arm. (A hand touch is more intimate than one on the arm.) The touch will usually be repeated to ensure that the male, always slow to catch on, knows that the first one was no accident. To encourage touching, men in suits should wear their ties slightly off-centre and place a little piece of lint on one shoulder. A woman who is attracted to a man can't resist removing the lint and straightening the tie. If this happens, a man must remember to stay focused and not get so excited that he forgets to listen. Not listening is an instant turnoff.

Females also use various techniques to let men know they are available. Flicking her hair with her hand shows that a woman cares about how she looks, and it exposes her armpit, which allows the "sex perfume" (or pheromones) to drift towards the object of her affection. Self-touching is also a clue. Women have significantly more nerve sensors than men, making them more sensitive to touch sensations. A woman who leisurely and sensually rubs her thigh, neck or throat is implying that, if a man plays his cards right, he might get the chance to touch her in a similar fashion. Repeatedly moving a ring off and on a finger can also indicate sexual interest. When a female does this, a man reacts possessively by fondling her cigarette lighter, car keys, or any other item she has nearby. Then there's the handbag gambit. A woman will place her bag close to a man to indicate acceptance and intimacy. If she finds him particularly attractive, she may fondle and stroke it.

As well as utilizing a complex array of signals to attract men, females are also exceptionally adept at using body language to tell men they are not interested. A woman will fold her arms on her chest, cross her legs and then point them in a direction away from a man to send him a "no go" message. If he is a particularly thick individual and doesn't get the message, a woman will usually not hesitate in verbally telling him to get lost. The average male should have no problem understanding that message. M



MOST IMPROVED **NICOLE KIDMAN**

The Australian star has come to her senses and dumped her personal trainer so she can gain weight. At five foot ten, the reedy 115-lb. actress is looking to boost her ballast to better her chances of conceiving a child with her new husband, country singer Keith Urban. Kidman, 39, is accompanying Urban on his North American concert tour to improve her chances of getting pregnant. Don't come knockin' if the tour bus is rockin'

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Synchronized treadmilling, 'Lost' figures and a vehicle turntable in our compendium of things that make life worth living

OUR SUPERNOVA

Can a Canadian win *Rock Star* two years in a row? Last year, Oakville, Ont.'s JD Fortune was picked to front the new INXS. And this season, moody glam rocker Lukas Rossi of Toronto is a top contender to join Tommy Lee (Mötley Crue), Gilby Clark (Guns N' Roses) and Jason Newsted (Metallica) in Supernova.

SELF-SHREDDING



Keep your bank statements out of the reach of identity thieves, with a pair of low-tech—but highly functional—shredding scissors. For now, only available in Japan (*gizmodo.com/gadgets/gadgets/shredding-scissors-178128.php*)

BIKINI-CLAD MODEL NOT INCLUDED

They say it's practical for making tight turns in your garage and driveway. We say the Vehicle Turntable by Hovair Systems shows off your pimped-out ride in all its gleaming glory. But at US$24,000, not including installation, the whole thing may set you back more than the car itself (*hovair.com*)



SADIES COME ALIVE

The Sadies are known for being great in concert. And the band's double live CD, *In Concert Vol. 1*, proves it—with guest stars including Jon Spencer, Neko Case and Garth Hudson. The latter two join the Sadies for a version of the Band's *Evangeline*.



P.E.I. THEN AND NOW

Charlottetown's Confederation Centre is exhibiting photographer Alanna Jankov's portraits of modern P.E.I., *Come from Away: Island Origins*, a snapshot look at the diverse Islanders who make up the no-longer homogeneous province. (To Sept. 17)



FINN FASHION

Curious about the latest styles in Helsinki? Visit *hel looks.com*. A simple photo, taken in Finnish clubs or on the street, is paired with a short description of the outfit ("vintage Dior") and the inspiration behind the look ("*The Avengers*"). There are interpretations of classics (Brooklyn hipster, gutter punk), but you'll find a uniquely Scandinavian flavour, too.

PLEASE DON'T WRECK MY KID

With slogans like "sugar free kid," "television-free kid" or "XBox-free kid," these children's T-shirts let others know your parenting views. And the ones with "peanut-free baby" can avert a more serious allergy disaster (*pleasedontfeedmykidsugar.com*)



MEET ME ON THE TREADMILL

If ever a music video were to start a trend, let it be OK Go's *Here It Goes Again*, in which the four band members do a synchronized treadmill dance routine. It has to be seen to be believed (*youtube.com/watch?v=pv5zWaTEVkI*)







TEACHERS, SAY NO TO DRUGS

Half Nelson is not just another drug movie, thanks to the gripping performances of Ryan Gosling as a strung-out teacher, and Shareeka Epps, 16, as a student who knows his secret. Music by Broken Social Scene.

FOAMED TO PERFECTION

Want homemade cappuccinos without steam burns or finicky cleanup? Put milk into the top of Bialetti's cow-patterned Mukka Express, and the water and espresso coffee into the base. After just three minutes on a stove element, pour out a cup of perfectly foamed caffeinated heaven. A simple and elegant way to say "bye bye baristas." (*Citychef.ca*)



OLD GROWTH, PERFECT FOR NEW DIGS

Suspended by wire, way up in the trees with the squirrels and the birds, are Tom Chudleigh's orb-like Free Spirit Spheres—waterproof and strong enough to take the impacts that come with life in a dynamic environment such as a forest. Pick one up and use it as a library, hideaway, or guest bedroom that sleeps four (*freespiritspheres.com*)

WITHOUT SAWYER, IT'S A LOST CAUSE

Lost, the TV show, is a puzzle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma—but the only puzzling thing about the cool new *Lost* action figures is that Sawyer's nowhere to be found. With the first series of figures, creator Todd McFarlane has made versions of Jack, Kate, Locke, Hurley, Charlie (below), Shannon and even a diorama of "the Hatch." They're detailed and impressive—all that's missing is the show's most popular character.



THE END

JOANNA MARIE BURKE

1969-2006

The 'girls' came first, even when it meant ending a 10-year relationship. 'She fell in love with elephants.'

Joanna Burke was born in Bridgeport, Conn., in December 1969. She and her brother Mark grew up in Mansfield, Mass., where her parents, Paul and Carol Newbert Burke, still live. Joanna graduated from Mansfield High, and then Bridgewater State College, a nearby liberal arts university. Despite the degree, she warned her dad that she would never enter corporate America. She had an independent streak, loved being outside, and was headstrong—three strikes against a rote New England desk job.

In her mid twenties, she realized that she wanted to work with animals, and walked away from a graduate program in communications in Nashville with little more than a semester to go. She landed at the Elephant Sanctuary, in Hohenwald, Tenn., as an intern. Joanna never left. The 2,700-acre preserve, located about 135 km southwest of Nashville, opened in 1995 as a refuge for elephants, some old or sick, others with circus and zoo backgrounds. Joanna eventually became the head caregiver of the Asian elephants.



She was typical, some say, of a Yankee transplant to Tennessee. "She wasn't loud, she wasn't boisterous—she was soft spoken," says Carol Buckley, executive director of the Elephant Sanctuary. "There wasn't a project that was too menial, there wasn't an hour that was too late." To Joanna, the pachyderms came first. "If she had to leave Tennessee, she'd book the last flight out and the first back in," says her father, Paul Burke. "All she ever wanted was to be with her girls." (There are no male animals at the sanctuary; Asian elephants live in herds of related females.) Alan Powell, Joanna's ex-boyfriend, says their relationship of 10 years ended so she could spend more time with the animals. "I'm the only one who lost, because she fell in love with elephants," Powell told the *Boston Herald*. "She put everything into her career and it made her better and the sanctuary better." In recent phone conversations, Joanna told her parents that she could not imagine her life being better.

There were dangers—Joanna had spoken to her family about the risks inherent in rehabilitating animals. Among her charges was an elephant named Winkie. Captured in Burma soon after her birth, Winkie arrived in the United States in 1966 in chains. She was 10 months old. She was brought to the Henry Vilas Zoo in Madison, Wis., where she grew up performing—standing on her hind legs, and leading the tail-to-trunk march. Her living conditions there were horrible. She was chained in an unheated concrete holding pen for 16 hours a day, sometimes covered in her own urine and feces. Her bone dry yard had no vegetation or shade. Winkie left Madison after her living conditions were deemed unacceptable by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's American Zoo and Aquarium Association, a move spurred on by public outcry. But by then she'd earned a reputation for violence, sending her caregiver at the zoo to intensive care in 1977, and in 1999 hurting a veterinarian and another zookeeper.

Winkie arrived at the Tennessee sanctuary in 2000. Her mind, says Carol Buckley, had become "warped by the stress, day after day, of solitary confinement and brutal treatment, beatings, and neglect. She came to us the most neurotic, afraid of everything, sure-that-no one-could-love her creature that I've ever met in my life." But at the sanctuary, Winkie blossomed. "In three days, she was singing, she was chirping, she was talking," Carol says. "She was finally free."

On July 21, Joanna was hosing Winkie down. As she walked over to the animal's right side to check on a swollen eyelid (likely the result of an insect bite), Winkie spun around and, without warning, struck Joanna across the chest and face. The force of the blow knocked her backwards, and Winkie, a full 8,400 lb., stepped on her, killing her instantly. According to staff, the attack on Joanna came out of the blue. Carol says while Winkie "struggled with reverting back, falling into old patterns—of lashing out at other elephants she was afraid of—when someone frightened her," she had never turned on Joanna personally or her other primary hands-on caregiver, Scott Blais. Now, Carol says, Winkie knows exactly what she's done. "Her head hangs, her shoulders are slumped, her eyes are little slits." Compounding the tragedy, she says, is the fact that Joanna was one of the most loving individuals Winkie had ever known.

According to her wishes, Joanna was buried on sanctuary grounds, in a private ceremony at sundown. The sanctuary's seven member board has decided against euthanizing Winkie, a decision Joanna's family firmly supported.

BY NANCY MACDONALD

MICHAEL TERCHA/CHICAGO TRIBUNE



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